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ANCIENT HISTORY:

CONTAINING

THE HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS, ASSYRIANS, CHALDEANS, MEDES, LYDIANS, CARTHAGINIANS, PERSIANS, MACEDONIANS, THE SELEUCIDÆ IN SYRIA, AND PARTHIANS.

FROM

ROLLIN, AND OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES,

BOTH ANCIENT AND MODERN.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

HISTORY OF THE MACEDONIANS, THE SELEUCIDÆ IN SYRIA, AND PARTHIANS.

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THE HISTORY

OF

THE MACEDONIANS.

CHAPTER I.

THE PHYSICAL HISTORY OF MACEDONIA.

The ancient name of Macedonia was Æmathia, but the time and cause of the appellation being changed are unknown. Some authors imagine that it received that denomination from king Macedo, a descendant from Deucalion, while others affirm that it is derived by an easy mutation of Mygdonia, the name of one of its provinces. The latter appears to be the most probable, for the space intervening between the range of Mount Hæmus, which separated Thrace and Macedonia from northern Europe, and the Cambanian mountains, which divided Macedonia from Thessaly, was, during a long succession of ages, distinguished by different appellations, according as the barbarous nations that inhabited those regions rose into temporary eminence. Thus, Livy says, that Pæonia was once the general name of Macedonia; which name afterwards became peculiar to a people near Mount Scopus. If the inhabitants of the district of Mygdonia, therefore, at any period became masters, they might have given the name of Macedonia to the whole country.

Some modern authors have attempted to derive the name of the Chittim mentioned in the Old Testament (Gen. x. 4; Numb. xxiv. 24; Isa. xxiii. 1. 12; Jer. ii. 10; Ezek. xxvii. 6; Dan. xi. 30.) from Macedonia. This appears to have arisen from the description of the country inhabited by the Kittim, which is supposed to answer to Macedonia, and from the fact that Alexander the Great is said to come "out of the land of

Chettim," and that Perseus is called king of the Citims, in the book of Maccabees. The term Chittim, however, as mentioned in the Old Testament, appears to be a name of more ample signification, and applied to the isles and coasts of the Mediterranean, like our Levant, in an indefinite sense. The restriction put upon it by different authors, seems to corroborate this explanation. Thus, Josephus makes it Cyprus; the Maccabees, Macedonia; the Vulgate, Italy; Bochart and Shuckford, the islands around Italy, particularly Corsica; and Jerome ascribes it to the islands of the Ionian and Ægean Sea. Any of these places may be included in the larger acceptation of the term Chittim.

The boundaries of Macedonia varied at different times. In its most flourishing state, its limits, on the north, were the river Strymon and the Scardian branch of Mount Hæmus; on the east, the Ægean Sea; on the south, the Cambanian mountains; and on the west, the Adriatic. At this period, it was said to contain 150 nations; a number which will not appear exaggerated when it is considered that each of its cities and towns were regarded as an independent state.

The most important divisions of Macedonia were Mygdonia, Bottiæa, Pieria, Elimea, Stymphalia, Orestes, Lyncus, Eordia, Æmathia, Pæonia, Chalcidice, Amphaxitis, Pelagonia, and Sintica.

MYGDONIA.

This district was situated on the Thermaic Bay, and it was separated from Bottiæa by the river Axius. Originally it was occupied by the Edones, a Thracian people, who were expelled thence by the Temenidæ. Either in or near Mygdonia, was the lake Bolbe, the modern Betchit, which Dr. Clarke describes as being about twelve miles in length, and from six to eight in breadth.

BOTTIÆA.

Bottiæa was bounded on the east by the Axius; on the west, by the united mouth of the Haliacmon; and on the north, by Æmathia. Larcher says, that the Bottiæans were of Athenian origin, and, according to Aristotle, from those children whom the Athenians sent to Minos, in Crete, by way of tribute. These children grew old in that island, gaining their livelihood by the labour of their hands. The

Cretans, in compliance with the same vow, sent to Delphi the first-fruits of their citizens, to whom they added these descendants of the Athenians. As they could not subsist there, they went to Italy, and established themselves in Iapygia, from whence they went to Thrace, where they took the name of Bottiæans.

PIERIA.

According to Strabo, Pieria was bounded on the south by Dium. In more ancient times, however, the name was probably applied to all the country between Macedonia and the Peneus. In Grecian mythology, it is celebrated as the first seat of the muses, either because they came from that district, or because they were supposed by some to be the daughters of Pierus, a king of Macedonia.

ELIMEA.

This district lay to the west of Pieria, in the valley of Haliacmon. Its inhabitants, who were called Elimiotæ, in the days of Thucydides, were subject to the Macedonian monarchs, but were governed by their own princes. Livy says, that there was a road from thence to Thessaly, and another to Ætolia, over the Cambanian mountains.

STYMPHALIA.

The district of Stymphalia was to the south-west of Elimea. It was annexed to Macedonia on the conquest of Perseus by the Romans.

ORESTES.

This was a small inland district, north-west of Elimea. Some suppose that it took its name from the son of Agamemnon, who is said to have settled there after the murder of his mother. Muller remarks, that it more probably derived its name from the mountainous nature of the country, *ores* signifying mountain in the Greek. The inhabitants of Orestes were originally independent of the Macedonian monarchs, but they were eventually compelled to submit to their authority.

LYNCUS.

The country of Lyncus lay to the north of Orestes, and it was surrounded by mountains on all sides. Thucydides says, that, during the early part of the Peloponnesian war, the inhabitants were governed by an independent prince, named Arrhibæus.

EORDIA.

Eordia was situated in the valley of the Lydias, east of Lyncus, and north of Elimea. According to Thucydides, the Eordians were driven from their country by the Tamenidæ, whence they settled about Physca, probably in Mygdonia. Their country, however, still retained their name.

ÆMATHIA.

The name of this region, as before observed, was anciently the name by which Macedonia was called. It lay north of Bottiæa, and, like Eordia, in the valley of the Lydias. It stretched itself to the Sinus Thermaicus, or, as it is now called, the Gulf of Salonichi.

PÆONIA.

This district was in the northern part of Macedonia. It was inhabited by various tribes of Pæonians, the principal of which were the Pelagonians, and the Agrians, the latter of whom lived near the sources of the Strymon.

CHALCIDICE.

Chalcidice was a peninsula, between the Thermaic and Strymonic Gulfs. It was so called from the Chalcidians of Eubœa, who formed settlements there at a remote period. The peninsula of Chalcidice comprised three small peninsulas in the south: namely, Pallene, situated between the Thermaic and Toronaic Gulfs; Sithonia, between the Toronaic and Singitic Gulfs; and Acté, or Athos, between the Singitic and Strymonic Gulfs.

PELAGONIA.

This district bordered on Mount Hæmus, north-west of the region of Edonia, on the confines of which flowed the river Strymon.

AMPHAXITIS.

The region of Amphaxitis lay north-east of Æmathia, bordering the Thermaic Gulf.

SINTICA.

The inland country of Sintica lay north to the region of Lyncus, inhabited by the Lyncesti.

According to M. de Lisle's map of Greece, Macedonia lies between the 40° and 42° of north lattitude, and the 37° and 42° of the same longitude. According to this map, also, it is about 160 miles from north to south, and about 220 from east to west. The form of the country is very irregular, but its situation is excellent, being washed on the east by the Ægean, and on the west by the Ionian Seas, which afford many noble bays and excellent harbours.

MOUNTAINS.

The most remarkable mountains of Macedonia, were the Scandian, and other branches from the chain of Hæmus, or the Balkan, Pangæus, Athos and Olympus. The three latter chiefly demand notice from their celebrity in history.

Pangæus.—This mountain was anciently called Mons Caraminus. It joined Mount Rhodope, near the sources of the river Nestus, and was inhabited by four different nations; nations which Megabyzus, the Persian general, with all his numerous forces, could not subdue. It was on this mountain that Lycurgus, a Thracian king, was torn to pieces; and ancient poets say that Orpheus sat thereon, and called the attention of animate and inanimate nature to his song.

"——— ——— He sat alone:
The rocks were mov'd to pity with his moan;
Trees bent their heads to hear him sing his wrongs;
Fierce tigers crouch'd around, and loll'd their fawning tongues."
VIRGIL'S GEORGICS.

Herodotus says, that Pangæus abounded in gold and silver mines.

Acté, or *Athos.*—The mountain of Acté, or Athos, is thus described by Pococke: "We embarked at Lemnos, and landed at Monte Santo, as it is called by the Europeans; it

is the ancient Mount Athos in Macedonia, now called both by Greeks and Turks, Haion Oros, the 'Holy Mountain,' by reason that there are so many convents on it, to which the whole mountain belongs. It is a promontory which extends almost directly from north to south, being joined to the continent by a neck of land about a mile wide, through which some historians say, that Xerxes cut a channel, in order to carry his army a shorter way by water from one bay to the other, which seems very improbable, nor did I see any sign of such a work. The bay of Contessa, to the north of this neck of land, was called by the ancients Strymonicus, to the south of the bay of Monte Santo, anciently called Singiticus, and by the Greeks at this day, Amouliane, from an island of that name to the bottom of it, between which and the gulf of Salonica, is the bay of Haia Mamma, called by the ancients Toronæus. The northern cape of this promontory is called Cape Laura, and is the promontory Nymphæum of the ancients; and the cape of Monte Santo seems to be the promontory Acrathos; over the former is the highest summit of Mount Athos, all the other parts of it, though hilly, being low in comparison of it. It is a very steep, rocky height, covered with pine trees. If we suppose the perpendicular height of it to be four miles from the sea, (though I think it cannot be so much,) it may be easily accounted, if its shadow could reach to Lemnos, which, they say, is eighty miles distant, though I believe it is not above sixty."

The passage which Herodotus says that Xerxes cut *through* Mount Athos, is justly considered by this traveller to be erroneous.* The promontory was no more than two hundred miles from Athens; and yet he is said to have employed a number of men three years, before crossing the Hellespont, in separating it from the continent, and in making a canal for his shipping. No mention of such a work is made by any other writer, and no traces of it have been met with by any

* Juvenal exposes this romantic tale with others told concerning Xerxes. He says,

"Old Greece a tale of Athos would make out
Cut from the continent and sailed about;
Seas hid with navies, chariots passing o'er
The channel on a bridge from shore to shore:
Rivers, whose depth no sharp beholder sees,
Drunk at an army's dinner to the lees;
With a long legend of romantic things,
Which in his cups the bowsy poet sings."

DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

modern traveller. The work, however, alluded to, is a canal *behind* the mountain, or through the isthmus which joined it to the continent of Macedonia, about a mile and a half in length, and broad enough only to let two gallies go abreast. This was no extraordinary labour; in our days, indeed, it would appear insignificant, if compared with the mighty achievements of enterprise carried forward on every hand.

Plutarch and Pliny say that Mount Athos is so high, as to project its shade, when the sun is in the summer solstice, on the market-place of the city Myrrhina, in the island of Lemnos. On this account, it is said, that the inhabitants of this city erected a brazen calf at the termination of the shadow, on which was inscribed this monostich:

Half Lemnos' calf doth Athos' shadow hide.

The height of Mount Athos, as taken barometrically by captain Gautier, and which may be deemed correct, is 6776 English feet.

According to Plutarch, a man named Stesicrates proposed to convert Mount Athos into a statue of Alexander the Great. This would have been in circumference no less than 120 miles, and ten miles in ascent. The left arm of Alexander was to be the base of a city, capable of containing ten thousand inhabitants; and the right arm was to hold an urn, from which a river was to empty itself into the sea. Alexander discouraged the project; but it affords an evidence of the grand ideas which the ancients entertained on subjects of architecture.

Olympus.—High as Mount Athos is, the mountain of Olympus exceeds it. Herodotus says, that it was seen by Xerxes from Thermæ. The ancients, indeed, supposed that it touched the heavens with its top; from which circumstance, they have placed the residence of the gods there, and have made it the court of Jupiter. Thus Homer says—

Twelve days were past, and now the dawning light
The gods had summoned to the Olympian height:
Jove, first ascending from the watery bowers,
Leads the long order of ethereal powers.
When, like the morning mist in early day,
Rose from the flood the daughter of the sea;
And to the seats divine her flight addressed.
There, far apart, and high above the rest,
The Thunderer sat: where old Olympus shrouds
His hundred heads in heaven, and props the clouds.

According to the notion of the poets, also, there was no wind, rain, or clouds, but an eternal spring on Olympus. With the Greeks, it exceeded every other mountain in Greece both for height, massiness, and grandeur, as we learn from Ovid:

> There Ossa, Pelion, Othrys, Pindus, all,
> To the fair ravisher a booty fall;
> The tribute of their verdure she collects,
> Nor proud Olympus' height his plants protects.

By the same writer, the giants are fabled to have made Olympus the highest step of the ladder by which they endeavoured to scale the abode of the immortals.

> Nor were the gods themselves more safe above;
> Against beleaguered heaven the giants move.
> Hills piled on hills, on mountains mountains lie,
> To make their mad approaches to the sky:
> Till Jove, no longer patient, took his time
> To avenge with thunder their audacious crime.

From its magnificence, this mountain has obtained the epithets of the *broad* Olympus, and the *many-topped* Olympus; from the circumstance of its summits being often enveloped with dense clouds, the *cloudy* Olympus; and from the reflection of the snow on its lofty peaks, rising into a dark blue sky, far beyond the belt of mist that hangs on its side, the *shining* or *bright* Olympus. It is now called Elimbo, in Romaic, and Samavat Eski, or the Celestial House, in Turkish.

The height of Olympus is very great, but not so great as was imagined by the ancients. As to the notion of its being beyond the second region of the air, it may be attributed to the fact, that letters traced on the ashes of the altar of Jupiter, remained a long time undefaced. This altar stood on the very summit of Olympus, and the god was worshipped by the superstitious Greeks with peculiar devotion. The mountain is indeed well calculated to impress the beholder with reverential feelings, and to lead the mind to the only true God. Dr. Clarke, speaking of it, says—"Towards the south-east, and rather behind our route, as we journeyed towards Tempe, appeared Mount Pelion. But the view of Olympus engrossed our particular attention, owing to the prodigious grandeur into which its vast masses were disposed. We had never beheld a scene of bolder outline. In this grand prospect, the only diminutive objects were the distant herds of

cattle, grazing in detached groups, on the plain in the foreground. All the rest consisted of parts of such magnitude, that, in their contemplation, animated nature is forgotten. We think only of that Being who is represented in the immensity of his works, and thereby indulge the same feelings which first induced the benighted heathens to consider the tops of their mountains as habitations of the most high God."

According to the philosopher Xenagoras, who attempted to measure Olympus, the height of the mountain is about 7000 English feet. A French geometrician, however, says that it is no more than 6512 feet. But in these measurements, no mention is made of a fixed base, to enable the reader to judge of the accuracy of the calculations. Snow is said to lie on certain parts of the mountain during the whole year. The ascent to its utmost top is practicable in the summer season. Near the top is a small Greek chapel, where service is performed once a year; a remarkable contrast to the ancient mythology of the spot. On the eastern side is the monastery of St. Dionysius, the highest habitation on the mountain. The river Peneus, one of the most transparent, gentle, and beautiful streams in the universe, washes the foot of Olympus, dividing it from Ossa, and making a multitude of small islands, covered with shady trees, and adorned with magnificent temples, grottoes, and other stately buildings. The best view of Olympus is from the plain of Pella to the north, or from the city of Salonichi, where its magnitude is so vast, as to fill all the view towards the western side of the Gulf of Thermæ, and to dazzle the eyes of the beholder with the radiance reflected from its snow-clad summit. Although fifty-five miles distant, so enormous is its size as to appear close at hand. The base and sides of the mountain are covered with thick woods of oak, chestnut, beech, and plane-tree, and the acclivities are clothed with large pine forests, whence it is denominated by Horace, Shadowy Olympus, and by Seneca, Pine-bearing Olympus.

RIVERS.

The principal rivers of Macedonia, are the Panyasus, Apsus, Laus, and Celydnus, which fall into the Adriatic; and the Haliacmon, Erigon, Axius, and Strymon, which fall into the Ægean Sea: none of these, however, demand particular notice, except the

Strymon.—This river is very celebrated in classical story.

There are few, indeed, of the ancient writers who do not make mention of it in their pages. Thus Virgil makes Orpheus sit upon its margin as he lamented his lost Eurydice.

> So close in poplar shades, her children gone,
> The mother-nightingale laments alone,
> Whose nest some prying churl had found, and thence,
> By stealth conveyed the unfeathered innocence.

At the present day, the Strymon is called, at that part where it empties itself into the Ægean, Golfi di Contessa. According to the poets, a great number of cranes resorted to its margin in the summer time.

The Strymon rises in Thrace, and rolling with a rapid stream almost due south, after a course of seventy miles, it enters that bay which from it was called the Strymonic, by two broad and deep mouths.

Besides these rivers, there are other smaller streams in Macedonia, as the Chidorus, Lydias, Astræus, Pontus, etc. There are also many lakes formed by the overflowing of the Strymon, and the junction of the rivers Axius and Erigon. Near the Candavian mountains, moreover, is a celebrated lake, called the Lake of Prespa, and there are two others; one in the province of Mygdonia, and one near the ancient city of Heraclia Sintica.

CLIMATE, PRODUCTIONS, ETC.

The air of Macedonia is, generally speaking, salubrious, and conducive to longevity. The soil is very fruitful. Anciently, on the sea-coast especially, it produced a rich abundance of corn, wine, and oil. The principal riches of the country, however, were its mines. Most of its mountains abounded with mineral treasures, whence the Athenians coveted, and fought for its possession. It is said, and his history testifies in part to the assertion, that Philip obtained the empire of Greece by means of his gold.

Macedonia was celebrated in ancient times for an excellent breed of horses, to which the inhabitants paid great attention, 33,000 being kept in the royal stud at Pella.

CHAPTER II.

TOPOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF MACEDONIA.

THE various districts of the country of Macedonia contained a great number of cities and towns. Among them stands conspicuously the ancient Thermæ, afterwards called

THESSALONICA,

by Cassander, in honour of his wife, daughter of king Philip.

Thessalonica was situated on the slope of a mountain at the bottom of the Thermaic Gulf. It still is a town of considerable importance, under the abridged name of Salonica, of which Dr. Clarke gives the following description.

"The walls of Salonica give a very remarkable appearance to the town, and cause it to be seen at a great distance, being white-washed; and, what is still more extraordinary, they are also painted. They extend in a semicircular manner from the sea, enclosing the whole of the buildings within a *peribolus*, or circuit of five or six miles; but a great part of the space within the walls is void. It is one of the few remaining cities which has preserved the ancient form of its fortifications; the mural turrets yet standing, and the walls that support them being entire. Their antiquity is perhaps unknown; for although they have been ascribed to the Greek emperors, it is very evident that they were constructed in two distinct periods of time; the old Cyclopean masonry remaining in the lower parts of them, surmounted by an upper structure of brickwork. The latter part only may properly be referred to the time of the Greek emperors, being also characterized by the method of building, which then became very general, of mixing broken columns and fragments of the early Grecian architecture and sculpture confusedly among the work. Like all the ancient and modern cities of Greece,

its wretched aspect within is forcibly contrasted with the beauty of its external appearance, rising in a theatrical form upon the side of a hill, surrounded with plantations of cyprus and other evergreens and shrubs. The houses are generally built of unburned bricks, and for the most part they are little better than so many hovels. The citadel stands in the higher part of the semicircular range from the shore, and there is a bastion, with a battery, at either extremity towards the sea, but no fosse on the outside of the walls."

There are many magnificent ruins of antiquity at Salonica. Among these may be enumerated, a citadel, or castle, which is the old Greek citadel, or Acropolis; a triumphal arch of Marcus Aurelius; the colossal torso of a female statue, supposed to be that of the wife of Cassander; a triumphal arch of Augustus; another of Constantine; a rotunda built after the manner of the pantheon at Rome; an ancient temple of the Thermæan Venus; the ancient church of St. Sophia, corresponding with the cathedral church of that name at Constantinople; a magnificent Corinthian propylæum of a large enclosed space, supposed to have been the hippodrome; a tumulus without the walls of the city; many shafts of ancient columns; and several marble soroi, which are now used as cisterns.

The ancient importance of Thessalonica may be gathered from St. Paul's first epistle to the Thessalonians, chap. i. 8, where the apostle speaks of the faith of the Thessalonians being "spread abroad;" upon which Grotius remarks, that many merchants traded from Thessalonica to all parts of Greece; whence they had more than usually favourable opportunities of making known their own conversion, and of promulgating the truths of the gospel. Christianity flourished exceedingly in Thessalonica, in the days of the apostle Paul, as may be discerned in his two epistles addressed to the Thessalonians.

At the present day, the corn, cotton, wool, bees' wax, and silk of all Macedonia are exported from Salonica, which is a proof of the advantages of its situation. It is the seat of a pasha, and has a very large population. A considerable portion of this population consists of Jews, and Dr. Clarke conceives he can trace from the two epistles to the Thessalonians, and from the Acts of the Apostles, that the Jews in the time of St. Paul were similar to those he found there when he visited that city at the beginning of the present century.

PELLA.

This city was anciently called Bunomis, or Bunomia. It was situated at the mouth of the river Actius, in the district of Bottiæa. It is rendered famous by its being the place at which Philip was educated, and the birth-place of Alexander, and also for having in its neighbourhood the tomb of Euripides, the Grecian tragic poet. The town was greatly enlarged and beautified by Philip, traces of which may still be seen at Alakilesseh, with which it is identified.

BEREA.

Berea was about thirty-five miles west of Thessalonica. It is said to have been built by Macedo, who gave it the name of his daughter Berea. In the Acts of the Apostles, St. Paul speaks highly of the Bereans. They received the gospel "with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so," Acts xvii. 11; a noble example for mankind to follow in all generations.

PYDNA.

This city was situated between the mouth of the rivers Haliacmon and Lydius, in the district of Pieria. It was called Cydna by some writers, and Citron by others. At the present day, it is known by the name of Kidros. It was for some time in the possession of the Athenians, but it was afterwards taken by Philip and given to Olynthus. It was in this city that Cassander massacred Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, with his wife Roxana, and his son Alexander Ægus. The famous victory, also, which Paulus Æmilius gained over Perseus was fought in the vicinity of this city.

EDESSA.

Edessa, anciently called Ægæa, was situated in the district of Æmathia, on the Via Egnatia, thirty miles west of Pella. In the earliest ages, it was the capital of the Macedonian kingdom; and when it had ceased to be the royal residence, it continued to be the burial place of the Macedonian kings. In the days of Livy, it was a city of considerable note.

POTIDÆA.

This city, subsequently called Cassandria, from Cassander, stood on the narrow isthmus connecting the peninsula of Pallene with the main land. It has undergone many vicissitudes. It was founded by the Corinthians, but after the Persian war it was subjected to the Athenians. Potidæa revolted from the Athenians, and sustained a two years' siege before it was retaekn. An Athenian colony afterwards occupied the town, which became subject to Philip of Macedonia, to whose power it finally yielded. The town still retains the name of Cassandria; but it possesses no celebrity beyond that which the page of history imparts to its name.

OLYNTHUS.

The important town of Olynthus stood at the head of the Toronaic gulf. It was founded by the Chalcidians and Eretrians of Eubœa. When Xerxes invaded Greece, it was in the hands of the Bottiæi; but Artabazus suspecting their fidelity, took it from them and gave it to the Chalcidians. Afterwards, Olynthus fell under the power of the Athenians, but it revolted from them at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, and secured its independence, from which time it became the most important of the Chalcidian towns. Subsequently, it became subject to the Lacedæmonians: but after the Spartan supremacy had been destroyed by the conquests of Epaminondas, it again recovered its independence. Finally, however, after a severe struggle, Olynthus was taken and destroyed by Philip, he being jealous of the power of the Olynthians.

APOLLONIA.

Apollonia was situated on the river Laus, in the peninsula of Chalcidice. It was a colony of the Corinthians, and also of the Corcyreans. At an early period, it was called Gylace, from a Corinthian of that name. It was a flourishing town under the Macedonian sway, but when it fell into the hands of the Romans, it became very celebrated; many persons being induced to settle there on account of its delightful situation.

There were three places of this name in Macedonia, but the most important is that described. The history of this

town is often confounded with the Apollonia visited by St. Paul. The latter was a place of little note on the road from Amphipolis to Thessalonica, in connection with which it is mentioned, Acts xvii. 1.

EPIDAMNUS.

Epidamnus, a maritime city of Macedonia, among the Taulantii, was a colony of the Corcyreans, founded by Phalius of Corinth, who is said to have descended from Hercules. It was situated on the coast of Albania, in a peninsula which projects into the Adriatic, forming the southern boundary of the gulf of Dium. Epidamnus underwent a long chapter of vicissitudes, under the Corcyrean, Corinthian, and Macedonian sway, and it eventually fell under the power of the Romans, when its name was changed to Dyrrachium, from the conception that the former name was ominous. At the present day, it is called Durazzo, and is included in the pachalic of Skutari, near the borders of that of Berat. It carries on some trade by sea in the exportation of corn, which grows in abundance in the neighbouring plains. Its population is near 5000, and it has a Greek bishop.

AMPHIPOLIS.

This town stood at the mouth of the river Strymon, which passed on each side of it, whence its name is derived. Originally, it was called Ennea Hodoi, "the nine ways," and belonged to the Edonians, a people of Thrace. It was enlarged and fortified by the Athenians, who took it about 437 B. C. During the Peloponnesian war, the town was taken by the Lacedæmonians, and at a later date it submitted to the power of Philip of Macedonia.

Amphipolis was one of the most important towns under the control of the Macedonian empire. It has, however, been now long in ruins, and a village of about one hundred houses, called Jeni Keui, inhabited by Turks and Greeks, occupies part of its site. M. Cousinery, French consul at Salonichi, found some traces of the town wall, some remains of sculpture, and a curious Greek inscription of a decree of banishment against two citizens, at Amphipolis. Some medals, also, are still found on its site.

Amphipolis is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles as one of the places through which St. Paul passed to Thessalonica.

Amphipolis was on the direct road to that city from Philippi, Acts xvii. 1.

The above are all the principal towns of which any detailed account can be given. There were others of some note, concerning which little is known. Among these may be enumerated the town of Ichnæ, celebrated for an ancient temple; the town of Dium, at the foot of Olympus; Celetrum, the modern Kastoria, or Kesrie; Heraclea, situated on the great Egnation road; Pelagonia, near the sources of the Strymon; Aphytis, where was a celebrated temple of Bacchus; Mendæ, a colony of Eretria in Eubœa; Scione, said to have been founded by the Pellenians, from Achaia, in Peloponnesus; Sane, founded by the inhabitants of Andros; Acanthus, situated on the low, flat isthmus which connects the peninsula of Acté with the main land; and Chalcis, one of the chief towns in the interior of the peninsula of Chalcidice. Many of these, with others of less note, have passed away, like a cloud in the morn of a bright summer's day, leaving no trace of their existence; and those which remain are following fast in the track of desolation.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE POLITY OF THE MACEDONIANS.

It has been seen in the preceding pages, that Macedonia was anciently inhabited by various nations. An Argive colony, conducted by Caranus, is said to have invaded Æmathia, one of its districts, by the command of an oracle, and to have been conducted by a flock of goats to the city of Edessa, which they took during a storm. This colony gradually enlarged their dominions by their sword, and by their kindness to the vanquished, so that in process of time, the various tribes were reduced into one nation, under one monarch, whose position in the state, was as follows.

THE KINGLY POWER.

Although the Macedonians were governed by a monarch, yet they enjoyed greater liberty than most of the Grecian states. Their monarchs ruled, but it was after the maxims of natural equity. Their authority was sufficient to enable them to act as the guardians of the state, but not to render them its oppressors. They dared not commit any flagrant injustice to gratify their own wills, or their private revenge. A law was laid down for their actions at the commencement of the constitution, and it was not subverted but with the kingdom. Hence, Lucian, introducing Philip and Alexander in his "Dialogues," makes the former call the Macedonians "freemen."

The crown of Macedonia was hereditary; and it continued in the family of the founder of the monarchy till the destruction of that family after the death of Alexander. The strict line of succession, however, was not always followed. It was nearly four centuries before any deviation took place from the lineal order, but after that period. the crown was

sometimes seized by, or consigned to a collateral branch of the royal house.

The complaints of the subjects of the king of Macedonia were heard by him in person. In civil cases, he was bound to administer justice in an even scale; and those who pleaded before him were allowed a liberty of speech unknown to other nations. To what extent this freedom was carried will appear from the following anecdotes, as related by Plutarch and Athenæus. An old woman, having a cause in the king's court, urged Philip's personal attention to it. The monarch did not refuse, but excused delay, by alleging want of time. Provoked at this conduct, the woman replied, "If you cannot find leisure to do justice, cease to be a king." It is said again, that an old woman pleading her own cause before him, he, annoyed by her lengthened narrative, engaged in conversation with a bystander, upon which the woman indignantly exclaimed, "I appeal!" Philip surprised, said, "Appeal! to whom?" "From the king inattentive," she answered, "to the king attentive." Philip received this as a just rebuke, and without the least resentment. This custom continued as long as the monarchy prevailed in Macedonia; for Livy tells of Perseus, the last of this illustrious race, that he sat in an ivory chair, and heard causes, and even those of minor consequence.

In all capital cases of punishment, the cause was submitted to the people or the army; nor was it till they had passed sentence, that the king could order the criminal to execution. Many instances of this may be seen in the life of Alexander, who maintained the custom when in strange countries, and in the midst of his victories. Curtius says, indeed, that when in the fury of his anger, he killed his friend Clitus, he stood self-convicted of acting contrary to the constitution of his country, and would have laid violent hands on himself, if the army had not exonerated him from the guilt by taking it upon themselves.

The ancient kings of the Macedonians were modest in the ensigns of their royal dignity; contenting themselves with superior armour to the army in general, and a simple chair of state. Alexander the Great was the first who wore a diadem and robes of state; after which, they were worn by his successors.

The kings of Macedonia were, in all ages, easy of access, affable in manner to their subjects. Individuals of the higher

ranks gave their advice to the monarch without hesitation, and they were considered his friend and counsellors. The result of this conduct was, that, for many centuries, the Macedonians preserved a firm loyalty and attachment to their rulers. It is difficult to pursue a proper course of loyalty: even the Macedonians carried their affection towards their monarch too far, by making a law, or adopting it from the Persians, to the effect, that not only conspirators, but all their relations should be put to death. Alexander saw the injustice of this law, and showed his wisdom and clemency by dispensing with its rigour.

When the kings of Macedonia were sick, the whole nation united in prayers for their recovery, and exhibited all the signs of sorrow usual for their dearest relations. When they died, they were interred in the royal sepulchre, and the people mourned for them as for their parents. Such was the paternal character of the princes of Macedonia, and such the filial obedience of their subjects. They were united in one common bond of affection, and harmony prevailed between them for many a long age. According to Justin, the friends of the Macedonian kings were companions in war, and associates in the empire. They were permitted to wear purple, were entrusted with armies, to act at pleasure, and when the Macedonian greatness triumphed over nations, they were appointed governors of them with all the pomp and power of majesty.

The kings of Macedonia were rigidly strict in the education of their children. Their sons were educated under the best masters in learning and science, and their daughters in the practice of every virtuous art. Alexander's speech to Sisigambis, the queen-mother of Persia, illustrates this. "Mother," said he, "the robe I have on was not only the gift of my sister, but the work of her hands." From this cause the princes of Macedonia were usually learned, or patrons of learned men. Thus, Archelaus honoured Euripides, while living, and mourned for him when he died. Philip was generous to every genius or learned man who sought his aid, deeming himself honoured thereby. Justin says, that he would pardon even the lampooner, because he would not punish genius in an enemy. So many learned men resorted to his court, that it has been said of his son, Alexander the Great, if he had not been the most active warrior in the world, he would have been the most celebrated

for wisdom. The observation is logical; for as

> "Iron sharpeneth iron;
> So a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend."
> *Prov.* xxvii. 17.

The associate of the learned and wise, if he be not a very churl, must become wiser for his companionship. That Alexander was not celebrated for wisdom, therefore must be attributed to his passion for war; a passion which extinguishes all the best feelings of human nature, and frequently causes the possessor to trample upon learning and science as things of little worth." War, and the din of war, is the most harmonious music to the ears of such as the world calls heroes, and the tactics of a battle field the acmé of wisdom.

The household of the kings of Macedonia was very simple in its state. They had a life guard, but it consisted only of a few members. The post, however, was one of high honour; for Oxathres, the brother of Darius, was admitted into their number. Besides these, there were other household troops, the commanders of which were men of note; and even the private men of this body were sometimes raised to honourable posts. Among the civil officers, that of secretary was reckoned the most honorable. The office of this functionary was to draw up orders, and see them executed. The royal physician, also, was a person of note in the court of Macedonia, and was treated as an intimate friend of the monarch.

It may be mentioned that although the kings of Macedonia were, in general, beloved by their subjects, it would not appear that they ruled undisturbed by jealous ambition. The reform of the government which Archelaus sought to effect, was greatly impeded by the jealous hostility of the nobles, who, in his reign, were a kind of petty princes, barely conceding to him the right of precedence. These facts would show that the government of Macedonia was not so happily constituted as ancient writers would have us believe; and that the most affectionate and right-minded conduct on the part of princes is not sufficient to exempt them from the hostility of ambition.

THE PRIESTLY POWER.

Religion and civil government are so nearly connected with each other in the history of every country, that no description can be given of one without reference to the other.

Among the Macedonians, the princes acted as occasional priests, and offered sacrifices for themselves and the people. The life of Alexander affords many illustrations of this fact: he offered sacrifices, erected altars, instituted games, and dedicated statues, in order to propitiate the imaginary deities of the Macedonians, or in gratitude for his victories.

The priests of Macedonia themselves do not appear to have had any influence in the state beyond that which their sacerdotal office gave them. Their occupation was solely to officiate in the many vain and ridiculous rites that made up the sum of the religion of the Macedonians.

What this religion was, will be found described at length in the History of the Greeks; for the religion of the Macedonians was that of the other Greeks. But it may be here mentioned, that Jupiter, Hercules, and Diana, were held in especial reverence among them: the first, as their protector; the second as the patron of the brave; and the third, as the goddess of hunting, a sport of which they were peculiarly fond. So vain had they become, like the rest of mankind, "in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened," Rom. i. 21.

THE MILITARY POWER.

The art of war was the glory of the Macedonians. Their warlike disposition exhibited itself in the earliest ages, and it kept pace with their extension of empire. It was this warlike spirit indeed, that enabled them to conquer the various tribes in their own country, and to extend their dominions. By degrees, they acquired such skill in that terrible art, that, joined with invincible courage, they became so powerful, as to overthrow the mightiest empire in existence, that of Persia.

It must not be supposed, however, that the small kingdom of Macedonia, though in itself a nursery of soldiers, supplied Alexander with troops sufficient for this enterprize. The recruits he received from thence could not repair the losses and fatigues of war, and fill the places of those veterans who were dismissed by him to their native home. The greater portion of his army must have consisted of mercenaries. Accordingly, it is said, that when at Susa, he received a reinforcement of 16,000 men, of whom 6500 only were Macedonians. It is said, also, that Greek mercenaries, to the number of 23,000 men, tired of the unceasing din of war, left

the ranks of his army immediately after his demise, in order to return home to enjoy repose.

But although the whole of Alexander's forces were not Macedonians, still the great strength of his army lay in the Macedonian phalanx, which was one of those grand military innovations, which have rewarded their inventors with power, conquest, and fame. During two centuries, this phalanx was deemed invincible, and no military tactics could avert its power. It consisted of one thousand and twenty-four files, and sixteen deep. Polybius says, that the soldiers in this phalanx stood so close to each other, that the spears of the fifth rank reached beyond the front of the battle. Those behind the fifth rank leaned their spears on the shoulders of those who were before them; and, locking them fast, pressed urgent against them when they made the charge, so that the first five ranks possessed the impetus of the whole phalanx. Hence it was that their charge was irresistible. It could not be withstood by the shorter weapons and less compact arrangement of the Greeks in general, much less by the rude and undisciplined multitude of Asiatics.

But even this phalanx was not at all times composed solely of Macedonians. Arrian says, that after the conquest of Persia, Alexander formed the three foremost ranks with Macedonians, the twelve next with Persians, and the hindmost file of Macedonians, by which intermixture, the want of skill and bravery in the Persians was compensated. It is probable they were all called Macedonians, though twelve parts out of sixteen were Persians.

Besides the phalanx described, there were two other foot divisions in the army of the Macedonians: namely, the light-armed, and the peltastæ, or targeteer. When they were in the field of battle, the phalanx was generally drawn up in the centre, and the horse and light-armed troops in two lines on the right and left. In engagements, the phalanx took what form the king directed. Sometimes it extended itself in front, at others deepened its files, till it assumed the shape of a wedge. In these positions they fought steadily and obstinately, till the force of the enemy was broken, when the light-armed forces and the horses pursued the fleeing foe, leaving the phalanx to keep the field of battle.

As the opposing forces drew near, the Macedonian charge was sounded by trumpets, after which the king or general harangued the soldiers. When they charged, they exclaimed,

"Alala, alala," a word which answers to the spirit-stirring English word, "Huzza."

With respect to the hardihood, frugality, and good order of the Macedonian troops, all authors are agreed. Through a long period of time they were much admired for the regularity of their discipline. When in the field, a place was marked out for a camp, and well fortified by a ditch and trench. Their tents were small, serving only as a covering against the inclemency of the weather. These were made of skins, and were sometimes used in fording rivers. The tent of the Macedonian monarch was pitched in the centre. This consisted of two apartments, one where the king reposed, the other where he gave audiences.

In all the wars of the Macedonians, the king was commander-in-chief. In camp, in sieges, and in battles, he went every where, and directed all movements. On these occasions, also, he fared as meanly as any of his soldiers, and far exceeded them in his labours. Livy records of the last Philip, that he trod in the steps of his ancestors, and disdained that his age should excuse him from any part of the fatigue which he required at the hands of the meanest Macedonian.

The arms of the Macedonians were both offensive and defensive. According to Arrian, they had a large shield, called, in Greek, "aspis," and a small buckler, called, "peltæ;" the former belonging to the heavy armed troops, the latter to the targeteers. Their swords were made for pushing and cutting: the hilts of these were made in various forms. The Macedonians also made use of daggers, similar to those used by the Persians. Their spears were of two kinds, long and short. The long spear was used by the phalanx, and it was frequently twenty-one feet in length. The shorter spear was used by the light-armed troops. The head piece of the Macedonians was made of raw ox-hide. Livy speaks of horns being attached to it. It is probable that these were the wings of a double crest, one of which was struck from the head-piece of Alexander, at the battle of Granicus. The Macedonians, also, had breastplates made of quilted linen, and they wore a peculiar kind of military shoe. The horsemen wore the same defensive arms as the foot, except that their bucklers were smaller and their spears shorter.

When the Macedonians were in quarters, in order to preserve discipline, military games were instituted, wherein rewards, both honorary and lucrative, were bestowed. After a victory, their kings were wont to reward such as had distin-

guished themselves. Those who fell in the battle were honoured with public monuments, and their family freed from tribute. In every other respect, the soldiers of Macedonia were treated with great consideration. When the time of their service expired, or if they were rendered incapable of serving, they were dismissed with ample provision for themselves, that they might enjoy repose, and excite the youth among them to follow in their path of warlike fame.

Thus it appears that the Macedonians were peculiarly a warlike people. They were trained up to the use of arms, and hence they preferred war to peace. Even if their own monarchs were not engaged in spreading desolation in the world, they were ever ready to receive hire for the slaughter of their species from foreign potentates. Lost to every principle of humanity and benevolence, they looked upon the rest of mankind as their prey. Hence it was, that the ambition of Alexander to conquer the known world was fostered and brought into action. He knew the material he held in his hands. He knew that the soldiers of Macedonia were animated, like himself, by a love of conquest; and that they only wanted a leader to conduct them on to rapine and slaughter. This is an awful picture of human nature; testifying at once to the evils that waited on paganism, to the corruption of the heart of man, and to the necessity of his being, in all ages, born again unto righteousness and true holiness, that he may desire to follow the precepts of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

THE COMMONALTY.

History has not preserved any records concerning the gradations of society among the Macedonians. As, however, nothing is related touching revolts among the poorest classes, it may be concluded, that, though they might be in bondage, they were not the victims of rapacity and cruelty. The great landholders, forming the aristocracy, seemed to have resided principally on their estates, avoiding congregating in cities; which insulated condition contributed to the permanence of the Macedonian monarchy.

There was one circumstance, however, unfavourable to the welfare and strength of the kingdom of Macedonia; namely, the practice of placing the younger sons of the royal family in the government of frontier provinces. Having to defend these provinces against neighbouring hostile tribes, their situa-

tion was similar to that of the lord marchers of the feudal ages in Christendom. Besides, the system of appenages was productive of prejudicial effects. As in modern ages, they were mostly hereditary; hence the granting such not only weakened the kingdom, but often opened a door to intrigues, disturbances, and foreign intervention. Perdiccas saw this evil, and endeavoured to remedy it; but his success was not equal to his exertions. The evil still continued, and, in process of time, Macedonia was, like "a house divided against itself."

LAWS.

It has been seen that the laws of the Macedonians consisted only in the decrees of their princes, founded on the principles of natural equity; and that in capital cases judgment was awarded by the army. It may be here observed, that the accused was suffered to defend himself with the greatest freedom, and that in doubtful cases the torture was permitted without respect of person.

The punishments among the Macedonians were of various kinds. Sometimes the criminals were thrust through with darts, and at others, crucified with their heads downwards. In some cases, they were, also, thrown chained into rivers; but that which was most frequent was stoning to death, wherein the army were alike judges and executioners.

COMMERCE.

The commerce of the Macedonians was very limited. For traffic, indeed, they had very little facility. Nearly the whole of the ports on the coast of Macedonia were in the hands of the Grecian states, or of colonies from Greece, who were always jealous of, and hostile to rival traffic. Hence the Macedonians were generally deprived of those benefits which commerce confers on those by whom it is conducted in an active and enlightened spirit: for

> ——The band of commerce was designed
> To associate all the branches of mankind;
> And if a boundless plenty be the robe,
> Trade is the golden girdle of the globe.
> Wise to promote whatever end he means,
> God opens fruitful nature's various scenes:
> Each climate needs what other climes produce,
> And offers something to the general use:
> No land but listens to the common call,
> And in return receives supply from all.—COWPER.

It is probable, however, that Macedonia exported some of that box-wood, to which the prophet Ezekiel refers as being "brought out of the isles of Chittim" Ezek. xxvii.

REVENUE.

The revenue of the Macedonians arose chiefly from their gold and silver mines, which produced an abundance of the precious metals. It was this that enabled the Macedonian monarchs to maintain and reward their troops with so liberal a hand. "Gold's attractive metal" was to them, in truth, the "spur of activity," and a powerful incentive to both good and evil; the latter preponderating. In different ages, many coins were struck in Macedonia. One of the most remarkable was the Phillippic, so called from bearing the bust of Philip, the father of Alexander. This coin is frequently mentioned by ancient authors, and it was for a long time the current coin of Greece. Many others are mentioned by antiquarians, and some are yet extant in the cabinets of the lovers of the antique. These not only bear the busts and inscriptions of the princes in whose reign they were coined, but also the names and figures having reference to the cities where they were struck, on their reverses.

CHAPTER IV.

THE KINGDOM OF MACEDONIA, FROM THE EARLIEST AGES TO THE FOUNDATION OF THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE.

ALTHOUGH no ancient writer has written a connected account of the Macedonian monarchs, yet the pages of Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus, Siculus, Strabo, Justin, Pliny, Solinus, etc., afford much light on the origin and development of the Macedonian kingdom. The first monarch was,

CARANUS,

a native of Argos, and a remote descendant of Hercules.

Caranus, from some unknown cause, left his country about B. C. 813, accompanied by a considerable body of Greeks, in search of a foreign settlement. Consulting the oracle where he should proceed, and what measures he should take in establishing his colony, it is said he was answered, that he should be guided in his measures by the direction of goats. Caranus proceeded into Macedonia, and particularly the small principality of Æmathia, then governed by a prince called Midas, and drew near to its capital, Edessa. The sky being suddenly overcast, and a heavy storm coming on, Caranus observed a herd of goats running for shelter into the city. Recalling to memory the response of the oracle, Caranus commanded his men to follow him closely, and entering the city by surprise, he possessed himself of it, and eventually of the kingdom.

Such is Justin's account of the origin of the mighty Macedonian monarchy; and though there is an air of romance thrown over it, in the matter of the oracle, yet the main facts seem to be substantially correct. It is confirmed, indeed, by the Macedonian standard. In order to perpetuate the memory

of this extraordinary event, Caranus made use of a goat in that standard; and it is remarkable, that in Scripture, a goat was symbolical of Alexander the Great, the most celebrated of the Macedonian monarchs.

At the period when Caranus took possession of the kingdom of Æmathia, Telegonus, the friend of Priam, and one of the heroes of the Trojan war, governed Pœnia; and there were several other petty princes presiding over the several regions of which Macedonia is composed. Caranus subdued several of these princes, and added their dominions to his own, laying thereby the foundation of that kingdom which his successors rendered so celebrated in history.

Caranus is said to have ruled twenty-eight years, after which he was succeeded in his kingdom by his son.

COENUS.

Coenus reigned for an equal length of time, during which no events are recorded, and then left his throne to his son.

THYRMAS.

Nothing is known concerning the actions of Thyrmas. He possessed the crown of Macedonia forty-five years, and then bequeathed it to his son.

PERDICCAS I.

This prince followed the example set him by his ancestor, Caranus, in the extension of his dominions. Feeling that he was stronger than his neighbours, he carried war into their territories; and he was so successful in his conquests, that the light of his "glory" has been obscured, like that of most other heroes, by the shades of romance which have been cast over it by his panegyrists, particularly the marvel-loving Herodotus. From this circumstance, what Perdiccas in reality performed cannot be stated. The only fact which can be depended upon is that of the period of his death, which occurred after he had reigned forty-five years. When full of years, he is said to have pointed out the place where he desired to be buried, and where he likewise exhorted his son to order his own body to be laid, and those of his posterity; signifying, that till this custom was abolished, there should not want one of his line to sit upon his throne.

Perdiccas was succeeded in his kingdom by

ARGÆUS.

Argæus was a mild and beneficient prince, and governed his people with applause. In his reign, the Illyrians, a fierce and barbarous nation, invaded the Macedonians, and caused them much alarm; but Argæus having by a stratagem drawn them into his power, fell upon them, and put them to the sword with great slaughter.

Argæus ruled over Macedonia thirty-two years, when he died, and left the kingdom to Philip I.

PHILIP I.

This monarch is said to have been wise and valiant; but nothing is recorded of the transactions of his reign, except that he resisted the attacks of the Illyrians with great courage. According to some authors, he reigned thirty-five years, at the end of which time he was slain in battle, leaving the crown to his infant son.

ÆROPUS.

At the commencement of the reign of Æropus, the Thracians and Illyrians ravaged the country of Macedonia, and were successful in all their battles with his subjects. At length, however, enraged by the misfortunes they had endured, and conceiving that they could only be successful under the auspices of their king, they carried the infant Æropus with them to battle; and, either encouraged by his presence, or disdaining to leave him in danger, they fought with such obstinate resolution, that they put their foes to flight, and obliged them to retire from their country. No farther particulars are related of the life of this prince by ancient historians. He reigned forty-two years, and left his kingdom to his son.

ALCETAS.

Alcetas commenced his reign when the Grecian states were seeking to extend their fame and dominion by sea and land, when the affairs of Asia and the east had undergone a mighty change by the fall of the Assyrian empire, and the coalition of the Medes and Persians, under the justly celebrated Cyrus,

and when the princes in his vicinity began to feel the effects of the Grecian power on the one hand, and of his newly erected kingdom on the other. It does not appear, however, that Alcetas took part in the turbulence of the times; rather, he seems to have contented himself with the kingdom left him by his ancestors, and fought rather to preserve that in peace, than to run the hazard of war, through an ambitious desire of increasing his possessions. He died after a reign of twenty-three years, and was succeeded in his kingdom by Amyntas.

AMYNTAS I.

In the reign of Amyntas, the kingdom of Macedonia was fast rising into importance, when it was doomed to receive a check, by becoming tributary to the Persians under Darius. (See the History of the Persians, chap. IV.) Mardonius, the Persian general, is said by Herodotus to have annexed Macedonia to the Persian dominions. This must, however, be understood in a restricted sense. The Persians never did deprive Amyntas, or any of his posterity, of the kingdom, but on the contrary, treated them always with kindness and respect. Amyntas bowed to the storm with which he was threatened, and thereby escaped its terrors. His son Alexander, indeed, was made choice of by Mardonius to be his ambassador to the Grecian states, which is a proof of the high estimation in which they were held by, and of their fidelity to the Persian court.

Macedonia was subject to Persia during the remainder of the reign of Amyntas, which lasted forty-nine years, and also during the chief part of the next reign.

ALEXANDER I.

Alexander now succeeded to the throne. After the overthrow of the Persians at Platæa, however, Macedonia virtually recovered its independence, although it was never recognized by the Persian kings. Alexander was obliged to accompany the Persian army into Greece, but he was able on several occasions to render important services to the Grecian cause. See the History of the Persians, chap. IV.

The time of the death of Alexander I. is uncertain. Some authors say that he reigned forty-three years; and it is known that he lived to B. C. 461, when Cimon recovered Thasus. He was succeeded by his eldest son.

PERDICCAS II.

The peace of Perdiccas was disturbed for some years by the ambitious designs of his youngest brother, Philip, who aspired to the throne. In the beginning of his reign, indeed, Perdiccas found himself surrounded by suspicious friends, and open foes. The Thracians, and other barbarous nations, looked upon his kingdom with an envious eye; the Persians affected to treat him as their vassal; and the Athenians menaced the safety of his throne by their colonies and allies on the sea-coast. Perdiccas amused the latter with a show of friendship; but when he found that they treated him as an inferior, he resolved to check their progress in the vicinity of his dominions.

When a monarch is disposed for war, occasion will seldom be wanted to find some pretext to justify the commencement of the strife. Thus it was with Perdiccas. The city of Epidamnum, distracted by seditions at home, and threatened by foreign foes, was in the utmost distress. The weaker party had called the Illyrians to their assistance, by which the government was so reduced, that they sent to the Corcyreans and Corinthians for aid. The Corinthians sent relief to Epidamnum, which the Corcyreans resented, and sent a fleet on the coast of Macedonia, in order to compel the Epidamnians to submit to whatever terms they thought proper to prescribe. The Athenians took part in these proceedings, and Perdiccas embraced the opportunity of declaring war against that state.

The first measure of Perdiccas was, to persuade the Chalcidians to abandon their sea-ports, and to inhabit and fortify the city of Olynthus. Enraged at such a proceeding, the Athenians determined to revenge themselves on those who had deserted them, and on the instigator of their defection, Perdiccas. To this end, they sent Agnon with a fleet, and a large army on board, to besiege Potidea, and to reduce the Chalcidians; but the plague infecting his army, he was obliged to return without accomplishing his purpose. He left Potidea as he found it, blocked up by a small army the Athenians had there before, and which eventually proved sufficient for its reduction. By the end of winter, the Potideans were so much reduced, that they stipulated with the Athenian generals, Xenophon, Hestiodorus, and Callimachus, to retire from the city, B. C. 431.

Another cause which tended to widen the breach between the Athenians and Perdiccas was as follows. One of the

principalities of Upper Macedonia was the appanage of Philip, younger brother of Perdiccas, and another was the inheritance of Derdas, cousin to the royal family. About the time of the Corcyrean war, Perdiccas proposed to deprive both his brother and his cousin of their territories, and the Athenian administration thought proper to take those princes under its protection, and support them against the intended injury. Perdiccas resented this as a breach of the ancient alliance, and perhaps this was the chief motive of his inciting the Chalcidians to revolt, and of his hostility to the Athenians.

The breach between the Athenians and Perdiccas became wider and wider. On his part, he intrigued not only with the Chalcidians, but with the Potideans and Bottiæans, subjects of Athens in his neighbourhood, for the purpose of engaging them to revolt; while on theirs, they incited the powerful sovereign of Thrace, Sitalces, to dethrone him, and to bestow his kingdom on Amyntas, who had been expelled by Perdiccas his uncle from his inheritance.

The ruin of Perdiccas seemed inevitable. Sitalces chose the winter for the invasion of Macedonia; at which season he put himself at the head of a large army, and with Amyntas in his train, he directed his march for the inland district of Macedonia, which had been the appanage of Philip, father of Amyntas. Here the young prince still had friends, and the towns of Gortynia and Atalanta opened their gates to his protector. Perdiccas trembled for the event. Weakened by civil war with the princes of his family, he was utterly unequal to meet the Thracian army in battle. He attended upon its motions only with his cavalry, while his people sought refuge in fortified towns, or in the mountains, woods, and marshes.

The first opposition that Sitalces encountered was from the town of Eidomenë, which he took by assault. He next attacked Europus; but unskilled in, and unprovided for sieges, he there failed. The Macedonian horse now made some charges upon the army, and produced some impression; but being always in the end overpowered, they soon desisted from their efforts. All the open country was, therefore, at the mercy of the Thracian prince; the provinces of Mygdonia, Grestonia, Anthemaus, and Æmathia, were desolated.

It had been concerted with the Athenian government, that an Athenian fleet should co-operate with the Thracians: but it was so little expected that Sitalces would undertake his enterprise in the winter, that this fleet was not sent. As soon,

however, as it was known that he had actually entered Macedonia, an embassy was dispatched to make excuses for the omission, with presents for the Thracian monarch. Gratified by this attention, Sitalces now sent a part of his army into Chalcidice, and the ravage of that country was added to the destruction of the internal provinces. The people, however, found security in their towns; for the whole force of Thrace was of little avail against a Grecian town moderately fortified.

One stroke of refined policy on the part of Perdiccas brought the unhallowed hope of the Athenians to the ground, and saved Macedonia from destruction. The rigour of the season having paralyzed the efforts of the Thracians for a brief period, Perdiccas embraced the opportunity for negotiation. He found means to communicate with Seuthes, nephew and principal favourite of the Thracian monarch, to whom he offered Stratonice his sister in marriage, with a large portion. The intrigue succeeded. After Macedonia had been trodden under foot by the Thracians for a whole month, and mischief had been done beyond calculation, Sitalces, led his forces home without accomplishing the purpose for which the expedition was undertaken. A treaty of amity followed between the two monarchs, and the Macedonian princess gave her hand to Seuthes.

Delivered from this exigency, in order to be revenged on the Athenians, Perdiccas allied himself with the Spartans in the first Peloponnesian war, B. C. 429; and much of the success of Brasidas was owing to his active co-operation; the particulars of which belong to the history of the Grecians.

The success which the Spartans obtained over the Athenians was advantageous to Perdiccas. It inclined the Athenians to court his favour, notwithstanding the mutual injuries they had inflicted upon each other. Perdiccas was disposed to favour their views; he chose, indeed, rather to conclude a peace with Athens, than to throw himself entirely into the arms of his new allies, B. C. 423.

The fidelity of Perdiccas, however, was soon suspected by the Athenians. They charged him first with treachery in not having efficiently assisted Nicias in the battle of Amphipolis, and eventually they ordered a body of horse to be transported to Methone, from whence they made inroads into Macedonia, and devastated some parts of the country.

Nothing more is recorded of the reign of Perdiccas II.: he died B. C. 413, after reigning twenty-three years, leaving his kingdom to his son.

ARCHELAUS.

By some authorities, Archelaus is branded with the two-fold stigma of base birth and sanguinary crime. These charges, however, rest upon slender authority. It is more satisfactorily ascertained that he was a prince of eminent talents, and that the kingdom of Macedonia was more indebted to him than to any of its preceding monarchs, for the advance in all that was truly glorious. To extend civilization, and to provide for the defence of his kingdom, were his absorbing cares. To attain the first of these objects, it was necessary to begin by securing the second; and he, therefore, increased and disciplined his military force, formed magazines of arms and stores, and fortified some of his principal towns. The only war in which Archelaus was engaged, was with the city of Pynda, in the province of Pieria, which had revolted from him. That place was compelled to surrender, and its inhabitants were exiled from Pynda, and sent to dwell sixty miles further from the sea-shore, that they might not easily receive succour from Athens, or any other of the Grecian states.

Undisturbed by foreign and domestic foes, Archelaus ardently cultivated the arts of peace. Agriculture was encouraged, and an invaluable benefit was conferred on the kingdom, by the formation of roads to connect distant districts. Learning, literature, and art, found in him an admirer, and a munificent patron. Socrates was invited to his court, and Euripides became his guest. The celebrated Zeuxis, also, attracted by his liberality and courtesy, adorned the royal palace with some of the productions of his matchless pencil. Archelaus, moreover, instituted games, in imitation of southern Greece, dedicated to Jupiter and the Muses, and bearing the name of the Olympian.

In the midst of all this splendour, Archelaus perished by the hand of a traitor. Craterus, who is said to have been his favourite, prompted by ambition, or revenge for personal dishonour, or by both united, conspired against him, and slew him, after he had reigned thirteen years.

The nameless crime which led to the death of Archelaus, shows how impotent civilization is to save man from the corruptions of a fallen nature. He exhibited, in all his actions, a more enlightened mind than any of his ancestors; yet he was equally deficient in moral conduct. The "works of the

flesh" were the glory of the heathen world. Too frequently, they were looked upon as godlike actions, and the shameful indulgence of them was hence practised, especially by those who had power on the earth. Their very gods and goddesses were represented as beings with like passions as themselves, and some systems of religion taught that the delights of heaven consisted in these things. A paradise of sensual gratifications was held to be the acme of bliss by some philosophers. They had no notion of the "beauty of holiness," and of the delights that are to be found in the "way of righteousness." The Bible, and the Bible alone, teaches such exalted doctrines, and the experience of the faithful proves them true.

The murder of Archelaus, says Heeren, was followed by a stormy period, wrapped in obscurity: the unsettled state of the succession raised up many pretenders to the throne, each of whom easily found the means of supporting his claims, either in some of the neighbouring tribes, or in one of the Grecian republics. Craterus was the first who usurped the throne of Macedonia; but he held his station for the brief space of four days only, at the expiration of which time he met with the death he had inflicted on his prince. He fell by the hands of violence.

ORESTES.

Orestes, the infant son of Archelaus, now became nominally king, under the guardianship of his relative Æropus. But Æropus was an ambitious man. The title and authority of regent were not sufficient to satisfy him, and he is said to have attained the supreme power by the murder of his infant ward.

During the sway of Æropus, who continued as guardian and as king for a period of six years, Agesilaus, king of Sparta, returned out of Asia into Greece. The Spartan monarch sent to him, as he had done to others, to desire a free passage. Æropus replied, "I will consider of it." "Let *him* consider," rejoined Agesilaus, "but let *us* march." This resolution of Ageailous overawed Æropus, and his march was accomplished without opposition.

After the death of Æropus, B. C. 394, the throne was ascended by his son Pausanius.

PAUSANIUS.

Pausanius was less fortunate than his father, for he was precipitated from the giddy height before the expiration of twelve months. He was cut off, and his throne seized by Amyntas.

AMYNTAS II.

Amyntas II. was the son of Philip, and nephew of Perdiccas II., whose cause had been first espoused and then abandoned by the Thracian monarch Sitalces.

Amyntas was not suffered to reign in peace. A rival appeared in the person of Argæus, a brother of the slain Pausanius. Argæus, by intrigue, obtained the support of a numerous body of Macedonian malcontents, and began the strife.

But it was not upon the Macedonians alone that Argæus depended. At this date, there existed on the western frontier of Macedonia a prince able and willing to avail himself of its weakness. This was Bardyllis, the sovereign of Illyria, who from being a bandit leader had become the supreme ruler of the Illyrians. It was on Bardyllis that Argæus chiefly relied for support in the enterprise: and his hopes were not disappointed. After an obstinate resistance, Amyntas was defeated, and compelled to retire into Thessaly, leaving the kingdom in the hands of Argæus.

But the sovereignty thus obtained was a mere viceroyship under Illyrian control. Hence, in two years, the tide of popular favour returned towards Amyntas, and the Thessalians furnishing him with an auxiliary force, he entered Macedonia, and obliged his competitor to retire. On the return of Amyntas, the Illyrian monarch was neutral, from which some suppose that he had received a large bribe from the exiled monarch. Be this as it may, the neutrality of Bardyllis enabled him to resume the throne.

The most important event which occurred during the reign of Amyntas, was his contest with Olynthus. At the period of his expulsion from the kingdom, he ceded to the Olynthians a considerable extent of territory contiguous to their own. Whether this cession was conditional or final, it is impossible to ascertain. The probability is, however, that it was final, and that it was given to the Olynthians to prevent its falling into the hands of his rival, or that it might involve that republic in a quarrel with Argæus. But under whatsoever con-

ditions this territory might have been given, when Amyntas was re-established on his throne, he demanded its restitution. His pretext was, that the transfer was designed only to be temporary, while the Olynthians contended that it was final, and prepared to defend their title by force of arms.

Amyntas knew that he was not able to contend with so powerful a people as the Olynthians single handed, and he had recourse to the Spartans for assistance. That republic had long looked with a jealous eye on the power of the Olynthians, whence they readily yielded to his request. They sent 13,000 auxiliary troops to the aid of Amyntas; and when these were defeated by the Olynthians, they sent a new army, under the command of Tallutius, the brother of Agesilaus, to renew the war.

Tallutius was a man of great courage, and vigorous in action. Before the Olynthians were ready to take the field, he wasted their country, and enriched the soldiers with the distribution of the plunder. But his triumph was brief. The Olynthians, having received succours, quitted their city, and, in an action, which was long and obstinately contested, they defeated the Spartans. Tallutius and 1200 men were left slain on the field.

This slaughter was but the signal for renewed action. A third army, under the command of Agesipolis, their king, hastened to the aid of Amyntas. At his approach, the Olynthians perceived that they should be at length besieged; and they protracted the war for one year, in order to raise fortifications, and to prepare for the fearful contingency. About the end of that time, Agesipolis died, and Polyudas was sent from Sparta to take the command. The tide of success now turned against the Olynthians. Polyudas gained several victories over their forces, and at length compelled them to submit to the Macedonians, B. C. 380.

After this, Amyntas strengthened himself by an alliance with the Athenians. He also strengthened the interest of the Macedonian monarchy, by uniting himself in marriage with the granddaughter of the prince of Lyncestis, or Lyncus,* who claimed descent from the royal Corinthian family of the Bacchidæ. Justin describes this princess as a monster of iniquity, and as concluding a long career of crime by accelerating the death of her husband. But the death of Amyntas appears to have occurred in the course of nature. He died

* This was a small territory in the west of Macedonia, on the frontier of Epirus.

at an advanced age, respected by the Grecian states, and beloved by the Macedonians, B. C. 370.

Amyntas left three sons; namely, Alexander, who ascended the throne, and Perdiccas and Philip, who were yet in their boyhood.

ALEXANDER II.

The commencement of the reign of Alexander was disturbed by an incursion of the Illyrians; and as he was not prepared to meet them in the field, he was under the necessity of purchasing peace, either by a sum of money or the promise of a tribute.

In these dark ages, this concession was reckoned a stain upon his character. But this was soon effaced by the spirit and success of his proceedings on another occasion. The Thessalians were oppressed by Alexander of Phœrea, who sought, by the aid of the poorer classes, to make himself absolute lord of the whole country. The nobility applied to the Macedonian monarch for assistance, which he readily promised. Alexander the Phœrean, having intelligence of these negotiations, marched towards the frontier, for the purpose of giving battle on the territory of his enemy. The Macedonian monarch, however, contrived to elude him, and to reach Larissa, the Thessalian capital, where he was joined by the malcontents. This promptitude saved Thessaly from the tyranny of the Phœrean. Their combined force was too numerous for him to encounter, and he therefore retired to Phœrea.

Having settled affairs in Thessaly, the Macedonian monarch placed garrisons in Larissa and Cranon, and then withdrew to his own country. He returned, to perish by the hand of violence; for he was assassinated shortly after, during a martial dance, by Ptolemy Alorites, who was either an illegitimate brother of the king, or a member of one branch of the royal family, B. C. 368.

PERDICCAS III.

Alexander's crown belonged by right to his brother, Perdiccas, the second son of Amyntas. Accordingly, Perdiccas claimed it; but Pausanius, an exiled prince of the royal family, appeared on the stage of ambition to dispute it with him. Having engaged a body of Grecian mercenaries, he

entered the kingdom, where, aided by his partisans, he rendered himself master of Anthemus, Thermæ, Strepsa, and other towns, and assumed the regal title.

The stability of the throne of Perdiccas seemed doubtful, when it was preserved to him by the address of his mother, Eurydice. The Athenian general, Iphicrates, was now commanding, on the coast of Thrace, a squadron which had been intrusted to him for the recovery of Amphipolis. Eurydice hearing of this, applied to him for succour; and that general hastened in consequence to meet her at Pella. The interview was one that could not fail to make a deep impression upon a benevolent mind. Leading her two sons, and with a countenance full of grief, Eurydice approached him as a suppliant. She then presented Perdiccas to the hand of Iphicrates, and placed Philip on his knee, and addressed him thus: "Remember, Iphicrates, that Amyntas, the father of these orphans, considered you as his adopted son. These, then, are your brethren. To you they look for compassion; to you they seek for succour. Pity their youth, a victim to usurpation; pity their mother, who sues for your aid to redress their wrongs. Nor have they less public than private claims to your care. They are the sons of one who was attached to your fellow-citizens, one who was anxious to strengthen the long subsisting alliance between the Macedonians and Athenians." The appeal was not in vain. Iphicrates, moved with the scene, and the prayer of Eurydice, compelled Pausanius to desist from his enterprise, and Perdiccas was established on his throne.

But Perdiccas did not long enjoy tranquillity. A more formidable foe soon invaded his repose. This was Ptolemy Alorites, who seems ever to have had designs upon the throne. By degrees, Ptolemy so wrought himself into favour with the people, that he assumed the ensigns, and discharged the functions of a king. Perdiccas, however, did not quit his title to the crown. A small part of the country owned him as monarch, and he sought the aid of the Athenians and Thebans to restore him to the full enjoyments of his rights. Distress at home long prevented these states from listening to his prayer. At length Pelopidas, general of the Thebans, who was held in high reputation for his probity, drawing together a few mercenaries, marched towards Macedonia, in order to restore Perdiccas. The usurper trembled for the event. Fearing the resentment of Pelopidas more than many armies, he referred the difference between himself and Per-

diccas to his decision. Pelopidas declared in favour of Perdiccas, and the Macedonians now universally submitted to his sway.

In order to secure the permanence of the arrangement he had made, Pelopidas took hostages from both parties. Of these hostages, Philip, the brother of Perdiccas, was one, who, on his arrival at Thebes, was committed to the care of the great Epaminondas, by whom he was educated in the arts of war and state policy, whence he became, in after years, one of the most celebrated characters recorded in the pages of ancient history.

The service which the Theban general had rendered to him, seems to have obliterated from the mind of Perdiccas the remembrance of former favours shown him by the Athenians. Thebes was at this time hostile to Athens, and Perdiccas resisted the claims of the latter to the possession of Amphipolis. The Athenians sent an army, under the command of Callisthenes, to enforce those claims, and Perdiccas was defeated in a battle; but he contrived to overreach the Athenian general by negotiation, and Amphipolis retained its independence. Callisthenes concluded a peace with the Macedonian monarch upon terms which his own defeat alone could have justified.

In the internal management of his government, Perdiccas committed some grievous errors, which though they sprung from honourable motives, were prejudicial to the interests of his subjects. Priding himself upon his learning, he patronized all who resorted to his court as men of letters, without discrimination. Euphrates, a worthless Platonic philosopher, exercised an influence over his mind very detrimental to good government. While he was immersed in the philosophical speculations of this man, the civil and military concerns of the state were neglected, and the welfare and safety of his subjects endangered. This was soon made manifest. Encouraged by the internal condition of Macedonia, Bardyllis demanded the payment of the tribute which had been exacted from the predecessors of Perdiccas; and he marched into Macedonia with a large army to enforce his claim. Perdiccas collected some troops, and endeavoured to stop the progress of the Illyrian prince; but it was in vain. In a severe conflict with the Illyrians, Perdiccas was slain, B. C. 360, with 4000 of his men, and the remainder of his army were dispersed abroad.

The kingdom of Macedonia was now in a perilous situa-

tion. The Illyrians followed up their success by plundering the country, and the Pæonians rushed in to share the spoil. Internal commotions added to the distress. Pausanius and Argæus, old aspirers to the crown, trampling upon the rights of Amyntas, an infant son of Perdiccas, arrayed their forces against each other to contest the prize. Pausanius was aided in his designs by Cotys, the Thracian monarch; and Argæus, who had still a considerable party in various towns, obtained from the Athenians the succour of a fleet and 3000 land forces, to make good his title to the diadem. Argæus could also rely on the friendship of the Illyrians, who had formerly countenanced his ambition.

Macedonia seemed now upon the verge of ruin. It appeared to be destined to dwindle into insignificance, or, perhaps, to lose its independence. But such was not the result. Macedonia was yet to rank among the first of the nations. The governor of the universe had yet a work for Macedonia to perform, hid in the counsels of his eternal will, and no human events could prevent its accomplishing that work. While the demon of destruction seemed to hover over the whole breadth of the country, a master genius appeared as its deliverer.

PHILIP.

Philip, the youngest and last surviving son of Amyntas, who had been placed under the instruction of the Theban, Epaminondas, now succeeded to the throne.

The reign of Philip, says Heeren, is one of the most instructive and interesting in the whole range of history, as well on account of the prudence he displayed, as for the manner in which his plans were arranged and executed. Though it may be difficult to trace in his morals the pupil of Epaminondas, yet it is impossible to view without feelings of astonishment, the brilliant career of a man, who, under the almost hopeless circumstances in which he commenced his course, never lost his firmness of mind, and who, in the highest prosperity, preserved his coolness of reflection.

It is uncertain where Philip was residing when the Illyrians triumphed over the Macedonians. Diodorus affirms, that he was still detained at Thebes, while Athenæus relates, that Philip was then governing a frontier province which had been confided to him by Perdiccas, on the recommendation of Plato with whom he was a favourite. The account which

Athenæus gives is more probable than that of Diodorus, as it exhibits Philip at the head of a power whereby he might cope with his enemies. With the means which his province could supply, and which his genius would not fail to render available, he might venture upon a resistance, which, as an exile from Thebes, and with a shattered army only for his resources, he could scarcely have attempted with any hope of success.

The capacity in which Philip undertook the government of Macedonia is also a subject of doubt. According to Justin, whom Heeren follows, he was a tfirst merely regent, and not king, acting for Amyntas, the infant son of Perdiccas. Justin adds, that Philip was afterwards imperatively called to the throne by the people, who set aside the succession of his nephew. Diodorus, however, relates, that Philip entered at once into the possession of sovereign power; and his testimony is more credible than that of Justin.

Philip commenced his regal career with all the vigour which youth, talent, necessity and the love of glory can inspire. His activity in every quarter, and every branch of the state, was incessant. Feeling that the crown he had placed upon his head was insecure, he stretched every nerve to preserve it: a fine lesson to the Christian, to be active and diligent in securing that crown of glory which is held out to him as the final reward of his Christian course, in the service of his Lord and Saviour.

The first object to which Philip directed his attention was the remodelling and the augmentation of his army. He caused his soldiers to be constantly exercised, and formed to the manœuvres, and inured to the toil of war. He provided also, an ample supply of weapons, and made some improvements in the construction and use of these implements of destruction. He introduced, moreover, a change in some of the evolutions of the newly created Macedonian phalanx, by which victory was ensured over the barbarians.

Philip endeared himself to the Macedonians not only by his exertion to secure them from foreign rapine, but by his affability, and his eloquent appeals to their interests and feelings. In haranguing public assemblies, he employed every argument and every incentive to revive the hopes of the Macedonians, and to inspire them with his own firmness and courage. Superstition lent him its potent aid to attain this object. A prediction of some sybil was either discovered or feigned, which pointed out a son of Amyntas as the founder

of the Macedonian empire, and the multitude recognized the hero in Philip.

While Philip was thus devising plans to secure the present defence and future aggrandisement of his country, he was not unmindful of the establishment of his own authority. To secure this, he formed the body guard, consisting of doryphoroi, or "spear bearers," whose duty it was to guard his chamber, and to attend upon his person in hunting and in war. They were rewarded for these services by various privileges, particularly that of dining at the table of the monarch, and they were distinguished by the honourable appellation of "the companions."

Respite was soon obtained from the hostility of one of the foes of Macedonia. Like some half-civilized tribes in modern times, the Illyrians seem to have undertaken their enterprise solely for the purpose of acquiring plunder; and when they had obtained their desire, anxious to secure and enjoy it, they returned to their own country. It appears, however, that they designed to return, and renew their ravages on a more extended scale; but in the meanwhile Philip was enabled to direct his attention to those parts of his dominions where the danger was imminent.

The enemies Philip had now to contend with were the Pœnians, Thracians, Athenians, and the pretenders whom Thrace and Athens supported; namely, Pausanius and Argæus.

This was a formidable array of opponents; but Philip did not despair of deliverance from them. Feeling, however, that a single failure in the use of arms might leave him without hope, he did not deem it prudent to rely upon these alone. Suidas says, that having one day consulted the oracle of Delphos on the termination of his career, he received this answer:

Make gold thy weapon, and then thou wilt conquer.

Philip seemed to make this the rule of his conduct through life. He tried the persuasive agency of gold, successively with the Pœnian leaders, and the Thracian monarch, and succeeded wonderfully. By dint of liberal bribes, the Pœnians were prevailed upon to retire from Macedonia; and Cotys, the monarch of Thrace, won over by other bribes, unceremoniously abandoned the interests of Pausanius. Secret and honour-sapping gold saved Philip from all these foes.

The sole remaining enemies of Philip were Argæus and his Athenian allies,

"In whom corruption could not lodge one charm."

The sword alone could decide this quarrel, and it must leap from the scabbard without delay. Already had Mantias arrived at Methone, an Attic colony, situated in the Macedonian province of Pieria, with 3000 Athenian auxiliaries. This sea-port was about twenty miles from Pella, the Macedonian capital, and nearly forty from Edessa, or Egæ. In this latter city, Argæus had partisans, who had promised to deliver the city into his hands on his appearing before its walls. He had collected a force in Pieria, and he was now joined by the Athenian auxiliaries. As soon as he had formed this junction, he hastened towards Edessa. But it was only to experience that bitter portion which waits upon the steps of mankind through life, disappointment. The partisans of Philip were more numerous than his own, and the gates of Edessa were closed against him.

Foiled in this attempt, Argæus began a retrograde movement to Methone. But Philip did not suffer him to accomplish this retreat. He attacked the rear of his army, and a general engagement ensued, in which Argæus was slain, and his troops dispersed. Many of these troops took post on a neighbouring eminence; but Philip invested them in that position, and compelled them to yield at discretion.

By this victory, Philip was delivered from the most dangerous of his rivals, and gained a fresh accession of force to his army. On taking an oath of fidelity, the Macedonian prisoners were distributed among his own troops, and they were treated with such kindness, that they became attached to his service.

The friendship of Athens at this period was an object of paramount importance to Philip. His enlightened policy saw this; and in order to prepare the way for negotiation, he liberated the Athenian captives without ransom, restored their baggage, entertained their officers at his own table, expressed his esteem for their fellow-citizens, and then supplied them with conveyances to return into Greece.

Such liberality of sentiment and action told upon the minds of the Athenians, and Philip increased these new-born feelings of respect by another well-timed proceeding. Knowing that the Athenians desired the recovery of Amphipolis, and that they had espoused the cause of Argæus, to avenge them

selves for the opposition formerly made by Perdiccas, he withdrew the Macedonian troops which had long been stationed there, declaring that he abjured all claim to it, and that he recognized it as a free and independent community; thereby leaving the Athenians to gain the ascendancy over the Amphipolitans whenever they thought proper. This was a doubtful line of conduct; but Philip gained what he sought by it—peace with Athens. His pacific overtures to that state, seconded as they were by the gratitude of the returned prisoners, and his apparently liberal conduct respecting Amphipolis, were listened to, and a treaty of amity was concluded.

It is remarkable, that no mention is made in this treaty of Amphipolis; whence Philip and the Athenians were left at liberty to execute, without a direct breach of faith, at a more convenient season, those plans which it is probable both of them had already formed. The Amphipolitans were left in the dark as to the motive which induced Philip to act thus toward them. Pleased with his conduct, they decreed divine honours to him, and declared their attachment to his person, and their determination to support his government. And yet they were virtually betrayed!

Philip has appeared hitherto struggling only for existence as a sovereign: henceforth we shall see him extending his territory and influence, through the force of his genius and ambition, till at length he acquires ascendancy over the whole of the Grecian states, and prepares to crown his victorious career by undertaking one of the most important enterprises recorded in the pages of history.

The Pœnians, who had recently been bribed to neutrality in the affairs of Macedonia by the gold of Philip, were the first to feel the weight of his newly established power. At that time, they were governed by a prince of the name of Agis. The death of Agis, which now took place, induced Philip to retaliate upon the Pœnians for their hostility to Macedonia, when he was surrounded by almost insuperable difficulties. He entered Pœnia with a considerable army, defeated the Pœnians, overran and wasted the country, and subjected them to his power.

Without resting, Philip marched from the north towards the western frontier, where he had a more formidable enemy to cope with, and more serious injuries to avenge. Macedonia had suffered twice from the ravages committed by Bardyllis, the prince of Illyria, and a third invasion was expected. Philip conceived that it would be wiser policy, while yet his

troops were flushed with success, to assume the character of assailant, than to wait for an attack. Accordingly, he harangued his army on this subject, and by working upon their feelings of glory, interest, and revenge, he excited them to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, and the cry for war against Illyria was unanimous.

The force with which Philip took the field against the Illyrians, consisted of 10,000 well disciplined foot, and 600 horse.

Bardyllis, the prince of Illyria, who had now reached the advanced age of more than ninety years, although his courage continued unabated, deemed it prudent to seek peace with Philip by negotiation. The terms he offered were, that each party should retain its present possessions. But this proposal was by no means satisfactory to Philip. His desire was extended dominion, whence he replied, that, if the whole of the territory which had been wrested from Macedonia was not restored, recourse must be had to the sword.

The proud spirit of Bardyllis could not submit to such a degradation without a struggle. Confiding in the valour of his subjects, he marched with 10,000 foot, and 500 horse, to seek his antagonist. They met, and a fearful struggle ensued. For a long time, the conflict raged without any decisive effect being produced by either party. At length, however, the compacted mass of Illyrians was broken by the Macedonian phalanx, and its defeat was thereby rendered inevitable. The aged monarch in vain sought to restore order; the rout was complete, and he himself perished in the conflict, with 7000 of his followers. The result of this battle was, that the Illyrians purchased a peace at the expense of all their conquests. All their possessions to the eastward of lake Lychnitis were ceded to Philip, by which he secured two important objects; namely, an enlargement of his territory, and a defensible frontier.

The successes Philip had obtained, served only to enlarge his desires. It is evident, indeed, that from this period he entertained the project of becoming lord of the Grecian states. But before he could cope with Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, he had much to accomplish. These were opponents far more to be dreaded than the Pœnians and Illyrians. The situation of Macedonia was also adverse to his rapid acquirement of political influence over the states. From a speech which was delivered to his mutinous soldiers by Alexander, it may be gathered that the kingdom was in extreme poverty.

"When my father succeeded to the crown," said he. "he found you a poor, wandering people, chiefly clad in skins, and pasturing your scanty flocks upon the hills, to retain the possession of which, you were continually obliged to combat, and not always successfully, with the neighbouring Illyrians, Triballians, and Thracians. Instead of skins, he arrayed you in coats of cloth. He led you from the mountains to the plains, accustomed you to discipline, and taught you to rely for safety on your own courage, and not on inaccessible positions. He collected you into cities, and achieved your civilization by wise laws and institutions. He raised you, also, to be masters over the barbarians, by whom you had been so long plundered and enslaved." This is, no doubt, an overwrought picture of the humiliation of the Macedonians; yet it proves that they were not only poor, but that they held a low place in civilized society. Hence the poverty of the kingdom of Macedonia was adverse to Philip's extension of dominion, nor less so was the situation of Macedonia. It was enclosed by formidable states, and it had no commerce, and scarcely any communication with the sea. On the south, it was bounded by Thessaly; on the east by Thrace: foreign colonies were planted thick upon its coasts, and the whole of Chalcidice was possessed by the Olynthian confederacy, which could equip a fleet of fifty triremes, and take the field with a numerous and well-disciplined army.

A mind of an ordinary standard would have looked at all these difficulties with alarm. But not so did Philip. Possessed of uncontrolled ambition, and a genius that scorned to be baffled by difficulties, he determined to raise Macedonia to the first rank among the powers of Greece.

The first blow struck by Philip in furtherance of his schemes of aggrandizement, was on Amphipolis, towards which he had on a previous occasion, acted with so much seeming liberality. Having secured the neutrality of Athens, by a promise to restore Amphipolis to the Athenians; and the co-operation of Olynthus, by relinquishing all claim upon Anthemus, and a promise to conquer and give up the city of Potidæa to the Olynthians, Philip proceeded to this enterprise. Perceiving that the storm was about to burst upon them, the Amphipolitans despatched Hierax and Stratocles to Athens, to entreat that the Athenians would send a fleet, and take them under their protection. Philip foresaw that this might happen, and he repeated his assurances, that his conquest should be given up to Athens; and Hierax and Stratocles

were consequently unsuccessful in their mission. Amphipolis was now besieged by Philip, at the head of a powerful army, aided by military engines. The citizens long defended themselves, but their exertions only retarded their fall. A breach was at length made, and Amphipolis fell into the hands of Philip; who, regardless of his promise to the Athenians, united it to his own dominions.

After the reduction of Amphipolis, Philip turned his arms against Pydna, which appears to have made no resistance. He next invested Potidæa, which also speedily surrendered. The latter city he resigned to the Olynthians, in pursuance of his compact. But this was not so much from motives of honour as policy. One of his maxims was, that "Those are to be obliged whom we cannot overcome," and his conduct on this occasion seems to have been an illustration of this maxim. The Olynthian confederacy was yet too powerful for him to encounter, and therefore he gave them the city of Potidæa. The Athenian garrison which Philip found in this city, was liberated without ransom, and provided with the means of returning home; which seeming liberality, and the flattering terms with which Philip spoke of the people of Athens, seem to have reconciled them to the loss of Amphipolis.

The road to future conquests was now open. Situated at the head of the Strymonic gulf, near the mouth of the river Strymon, the city of Amphipolis commanded the most practicable pass into the Thracian territory. And Thrace was a country not to be forgotten by Philip. He had injuries to avenge there, and objects to attain, which were indispensable to his future operations. He remembered that he had once to purchase the forbearance of the Thracian monarch by stores of shining gold; and he knew that in its vicinity, and at a short distance from his own dominions, he should find means of extending his influence over the Grecian states.

Philip, therefore, now turned his arms toward Thrace. At this period, Thrace was under the sway of Cotys, a prince whose intellects, though clear on some subjects, were yet clouded by insanity on others. He delighted to take up his abode in forests, on the bank of clear streams, where he could indulge in luxury and conviviality, and brood over the fancies of his disordered intellect. It is said, that his mania consisted in being enamoured of Minerva, and in imagining that the goddess regarded his passion with favour. Mitford thinks, that as the appearances of the deities in human shape was an article of belief in the heathen world, his love was inspired

originally by some real object, which his disordered mind invested with celestial attributes.

At the period when Philip invaded Thrace, Cotys was holding his sylvan court at Onocarsis, which was situated in the centre of a beautiful wood, and was one of his favourite retreats. When he heard of the approach of Philip, instead of adopting defensive measures, he had recourse to flight. At the same time, Cotys despatched a letter to Philip, which, from a remark made by the latter, must have contained either angry remonstrance or the effusions of insanity.*

Whatever were the contents of the letter, regardless of them, Philip pursued his march. Between the Strymon and the Nestus, are the mountains of Pangæus, a branch from the chain which then bore the name of Rhodope. These mountains were famous for their gold and silver mines, and, therefore, they had often been an object of contention. The Athenians and Thacians had held the territory before the Thracians, and had made themselves rich with its treasures. A Thracian settlement had recently been established at Crenidæ, in the immediate vicinity of these mines; but the attention of the rustic settlers was directed to the surface, and not to the bowels of the soil. They had not yet become lovers of the corrupting mass, but lived in peaceful content upon the fruits of the earth. Philip, however, looked upon gold as his best weapon, and his most faithful servant, and he resolved to seize upon this country, and to extract from its bowels a treasure sufficient to purchase that empire over his fellow-man which he so ardently desired. Crenidæ, its capital, fell without opposition into the hands of Philip, who placed in it a Macedonian colony, and changed its name to Philippi.

After Philip had gained possession of Crenidæ, he caused the mines in its vicinity to be cleared and drained, and the requisite buildings to be erected. The mining operations were carried on with such spirit, that he is said to have ultimately derived an annual revenue of about 200,000 pounds sterling from this source, which was a large sum in that age, and sufficient to enable him to carry on his work of corrupting the probity of individuals and nations.

Having gained this rich territory, Philip desisted, for the present, from hostilities against Thrace. By this brief cam-

* The idea of a letter from Cotys having excited the laughter of the Macedonian officers, Philip is said to have observed, "It is, indeed, from Cotys: does that cause your mirth? You little think what are his demands."

paign, however, his boundary was extended eastward as far as the river Nestus.

It was from the gold of Pangæus that Philip first caused the golden coin bearing his name to be stamped, and it was this coin that enabled him to ensure many victories. It was his unhallowed boast, indeed, that he had captured more cities by gold than arms; that he never forced a gate till after having attempted to open it with a key of gold; and that he did not think any fortress impregnable into which a mule laden with the tempting ore could find an entrance. One of the ancients said of him, that he was a merchant rather than a conqueror, and that it was not Philip, but his gold, which subdued Greece. An allusion is made to these historical facts, by the poet Horace, in one of his odes, in which he inculcates content.

> Stronger than thunder's winged force
> All powerful gold can speed its course,
> Through watchful guards its passage make,
> And loves through solid walls to break:
> From gold the overwhelming woes
> That crushed the Grecian augur rose:
> Philip with gold through cities broke,
> And rival monarchs felt his yoke:
> Captains of ships to gold are slaves,
> Though fierce as their own winds and waves:
> Yet gloomy care, and thirst of more,
> Attend the still increasing store.

After Philip had conquered Greece, he had pensioners in every state, and he retained those in his pay who had the greatest share in the public affairs. It is said, he was less proud of a battle than of a victory gained by negotiation, because in the latter the honour was all his own.

The capture of Amphipolis and Crenidæ occurred B. C. 358. In the following spring, Philip was called upon to redress the wrongs of the Thessalians, who were oppressed by the tyrants Tisiphonus and his brother Lycophron, who, by the murder of Alexander of Pheræ, had succeeded to the office of tagus. The Thessalian nobles, particularly the ancient and kindred family of the Alevads, had long held a friendly intercourse with the royal house of Macedonia; each party affording succour to the other in the day of danger. The Thessalians, therefore, being resolved to shake off the yoke of the tyrant brothers, the Alevads, who took the lead in the enterprise, applied to the Macedonian monarch for aid. Philip was rejoiced to find an opportunity of establishing his influ-

ence in Thessaly, and he hastened to lead his army into that country. The forces of the tyrants were quickly routed by the superior troops of Philip, and he confined their authority to Pheræ alone, and restored to the Thessalians their ancient liberty. Philip gained much power by this enterprise. Even after this, in all his wars and conquests, the Thessalians were his zealous confederates, and they continued to be such to his son Alexander the Great.

Soon after his return from Thessaly, Philip formed a union with Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus, king of Molossis, the most important of the fourteen diminutive states into which Epirus was divided, and which was bounded by Thessaly on the east, and Macedonia on the north. The nuptials were celebrated at Pella with great magnificence, being attended with a long series of banquets, religious ceremonies, dramatic exhibitions, and martial games, as was usual in the courts of ancient kingdoms.

While engaged in these festivities, a confederacy was formed against Philip, which threatened to shake his dominion to the very foundation. The monarchs of Illyria, Thrace, and Pœnia, fearful of his growing greatness, and smarting with the recollection of their humiliation by his sword, united to overthrow his supremacy. They hoped, by a simultaneous and sudden attack on three sides of Macedonia, he would be unable to make head against them. But Philip was not so absorbed in his marriage festivities as to be careless of his political interests. Ever active in his government, he had already procured information of their design, and was prepared to defeat it. He despatched Parmenio, his best general, into Illyria, while he himself marched against the Pœnians. Victory soon declared in his favour. He re-subjected the Pœnians to his sway, and then, hastening into Thrace, where he was joined by Teres, one of the Thracian princes, he pursued the war with such vigour, that all opposition vanished before him, and he obtained a predominant influence in that country.

We see here the effects of watchfulness and activity. The threefold foes of Macedonia, about to attack it in as many quarters, vanished before them. Philip, had he slumbered in the delights which his youthful bride held forth, would, doubtless, have been driven from his throne. But holding himself loose to these delights, and rising up from among them, he placed his foes beneath his feet. This speaks to the professed Christian. Three foes, more mighty than the Illy-

rians, Pœnians, and Thracians, beset you on every hand. The world, the flesh, and the devil, would rob you of your crown. Imitate, then, the watchfulness and activity of Philip, and strive manfully for the victory over them. Remember, the crown which Philip fought for was but a temporal crown; that you seek, is to be worn throughout eternity.

Joyful tidings followed hard upon the heels of Philip's victories. One messenger brought him information that Parmenio had routed the Illyrians; a second announced that the horse of the monarch had won the prize in the Olympic race; and a third followed with the crowning news, that Olympias had brought him a son and heir. In allusion to the ancient prejudice, that an extraordinary series of prosperity is necessarily succeeded by heavy calamities, Plutarch says, that Philip exclaimed, on hearing these tidings, "O Fortune! send some slight misfortune, to atone for all these blessings." The prejudice alluded to is founded upon right reason; for daily experience teaches us, that adversity is one of the dark features in the life of man, and that no degree of prosperity can ensure exemption from it.

> One adequate support
> For the calamities of mortal life
> Exists—one only; an assured belief
> That the procession of our fate, howe'er
> Sad or disturbed, is ordered by a Being
> Of infinite benevolence and power;
> Whose everlasting purposes embrace
> All accidents, converting them to good.
> The darts of anguish fix not where the seat
> Of suffering hath been thoroughly fortified,
> By acquiescence in the will supreme,
> For time and for eternity; by faith,
> Faith absolute in God, including hope,
> And the defence that lies in boundless love
> Of his perfections; with habitual dread
> Of aught unworthily conceived, endured
> Impatiently, ill done, or left undone,
> To the dishonour of His holy name.—WORDSWORTH.

The diviners are said to have predicted that the child born to Philip under such auspicious circumstances must needs prove invincible. It is probable that this was fabricated when Alexander's actions would justify the assertion; but the child was destined to eclipse the fame of the parent. Philip himself prepared the way for this consummation. He resolved that nothing should be wanting to qualify him for the kingly station. How anxious he was about the education of Alex-

ander, may be seen from his letter to Aristotle, the philosopher, on his birth. This letter, which is a finished model of simple elegance and politeness, imperatorial brevity, and dignified elevation of sentiment, reads thus:

PHILIP *to* ARISTOTLE *greeting.*

I wish you to know, that to me a son is born. For this, I return thanks to the gods; not so much for the birth of the boy, as for his being born during your time. I trust that, formed by your care and instruction, he will become worthy of us, and worthy also to succeed in the government of Macedonia.—FAREWELL

Aristotle subsequently became preceptor to the youthful prince, and, by his instructions, formed Alexander's character.

Macedonia now enjoyed a brief interval of repose. The Grecian states, however, were at this time in the utmost confusion. A war was raging, which was called "The sacred war," it being undertaken from religious motives, which lasted ten years. In this war, Philip took no part. He had little regard for religion, or the interest of Apollo; and it was his policy not to be engaged in a war by which he could not be benefited, but to take advantage of this juncture to extend his frontiers, and to push his conquests without any apprehension of opposition. Philip also was pleased to see the Grecian states weaken and consume each other, that he might thereby pursue his designs upon them with greater probability of success on a future day.

Thus favoured by circumstances, the ambition of Philip soon stirred him up again to action. In pursuance of his plan, to clear the Macedonian coast from enemies, he now, B. C. 353, resolved to make himself master of Methone. He invested the city; but its great strength, and the facility with which it could receive supplies by sea, rendered the siege a slow and difficult operation. The citizens held out during the autumn and winter, in the hope that the Athenians would succour them in the returning spring. The Athenians were slow in affording relief. They decreed that a fleet should be sent to their aid; but when it arrived, Methone was captured. Exhausted, and despairing of relief, the Methonians submitted, and Philip rased their city, and divided their lands among his soldiers. The terms which the Methonians obtained were more favourable than was the custom in these

ages of barbarous warfare, especially when it is considered that Philip lost an eye during the siege, by a wound from an arrow. They were allowed to depart with their wearing apparel, to seek a refuge in some other territories.

No sooner had Philip reduced Methone, than he carried his arms eastward, to the neighbourhood of Byzantium. On the north shore of the Propontus, near Perinthus, stood the city of Heræum, originally colonized by the Samians, and which derived its name from Juno, who was there worshipped. To this city Philip now laid siege. At the same time, for the purpose of establishing his interest in this part of Thrace, he expelled some of the petty princes, and established others on whose friendship he could depend.

The investment of Heræum caused much alarm at Athens. The Athenians foresaw, that if Philip established himself on the northern coast of the Propontis, Byzantium, the Chersonesus, the commerce and the very subsistence of Athens, would be at his mercy. Under these circumstances, the people assembled, and a stormy discussion took place. At length, however, it was decreed, that forty galleys should be sent to sea; that all citizens under the age of forty-five should embark; and that sixty talents (about 12,000 pounds sterling) should be levied to provide for the expenses of the armament.

This appearance of vigour on the part of the Athenians was only momentary. While Philip was proceeding with the siege of Heræum, he was attacked by severe illness, and rumour spread the tidings at Athens that he was no more. This induced the Athenians to slacken in their preparation. Many months passed before they sent to the relief of Heræum, and at last they only sent ten ill-manned ships, under Charidemus, with five talents (or about 1000*l.*) only, to defray the expenses of the expedition. These, however, were not wanted; for Philip appears to have relinquished his designs upon Heræum.

It is probable that the Macedonian conqueror relinquished his design upon Heræum from a request made to him by the Thessalians to aid them once more against the tyrant Lycophron, who ruled over them with an iron sway. This was his next enterprise. Philip gladly responded to the call, and by the junction of his forces with the Thessalians, those of Lycophron were over-matched. Lycophron, however, strengthened himself by the protection of the Phocians. Onomarchus, the autocrator of Phocis, despatched his brother Phayllus, with 7000 men, to strengthen the tyrant; and when

the combined forces of Phayllus and Lycophron were defeated, he himself marched into Thessaly with his whole army, before Philip could profit by his victory.

Philip was now, for the first time, opposed to an enemy whose military abilities, if not equal to, might nevertheless compete with his own. The forces of the enemy, also, outnumbered those of the Macedonians and Thessalians. Philip, however, did not decline the combat. The opposing armies met, and, at the first shock, the Phocian ranks gave way, and fled in apparent disorder to some neighbouring rocks. This was a snare laid for Philip. The fancied conquerors had no sooner entered among the rocks and passes, than the Phocians hurled huge masses of stone down among the soldiers of Philip, and swept away whole ranks. The phalanx itself was thrown into confusion, and the Phocians, taking advantage of this, charged them with incredible fury, and defeated them with great slaughter.

Undaunted by this overthrow, Philip again appealed to arms, and was again defeated by severe loss. By this second defeat, indeed, and by the subsequent vigilance of his adversary, his troops could hardly be restrained from deserting him, and it required all his skill to make good his retreat into Macedonia. Lycophron, therefore, yet triumphed over the Thessalians.

Winter hushed the tumults of war for a time; but revenge did not slumber. Each party was fully occupied during that season in preparing for the renewal of the contest. Onomarchus strengthened himself by fresh enrolments of mercenaries, and meditated carrying his arms into Bœotia. But in this he was frustrated: the inhabitants of Larissa, Pharsalia, and the other cities of Thessaly, who abhorred the yoke of Lycophron, again resolved to shake it off, and his forces were again required to aid the tyrant.

The aid of Philip was once more sought by the oppressed Thessalians; and being anxious to retrieve his reputation for the feats of war, and to establish his own power in Thessaly, which was essential to his future designs upon Greece, he cheerfully complied with their request. No sooner had spring appeared, than he led a formidable army into Thessaly. He was joined by the enemies of Lycophron, and their united force amounted to 20,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry.

Lycophron, unable to withstand so mighty an army, shut himself up in Pheræ, and despatched messengers to seek assistance from Onomarchus. Pleased with the new lure held

out to him, the autocrator hastily collected his forces, passed the Thermopylæ, and advanced towards Pheræ. His army consisted of 20,000 infantry, and 500 cavalry. He continued his march to the northern extremity of the Pagasæan gulf, in which there was an Athenian squadron, commanded by Chares, probably intended to disturb the motions of Philip, and to co-operate with Onomarchus and Lycophron. At this point however, Onomarchus was met by the forces of Philip, and a conflict was inevitable. Both sides prepared for it. Philip, knowing the valour of his antagonist, and feeling that he was contending for nothing less than fame and power, used his utmost exertions to infuse courage among his soldiers. Appealing to their religious feelings, which, in all ages, is the most powerful motive for action that can be held out to man, he elevated them to the dignity of champions and avengers of Apollo, and ordered them to crown themselves with laurels, that tree being consecrated to the Delphic deity, and he assumed as his own ensign the emblem of the god. Thus inspirited, the signal was given. Both sides fought with determined valour, and the fate of the day was for a long time dubious; but at length the Thessalian cavalry succeeded in driving back the Phocian array; and repeating its efforts, which were seconded by Philip, the Phocians were routed. The cause of Lycophron was lost. The vanquished fled towards the sea, to take refuge in the Athenian ships in the gulf; but the Thessalians and Macedonians, whose swords were edged by the remembrance of ancient animosities, and resentment of the present invasion, pursued them vigorously, and made a terrible slaughter among them. Six thousand Phocians are said to have fallen on this day, among whom was Onomarchus, and 3000 were taken prisoners. The rest escaped, some by taking refuge in the ships of the Athenians, but the greater portion by the way of the mountains into Phocia.

According to Diodorus, the conqueror sullied his triumph by an action which exhibited the depravity of the human heart in characters not to be mistaken. Prompted by a barbarous policy, he caused the body of Onomarchus to be nailed to a cross, and the corpses of the rest of the slain to be thrown into the sea, as being the remains of sacrilegious miscreants who had forfeited all claim to funeral rites. It is doubtful, according to the same writer, whether the same barbarous doom was not assigned to the prisoners. So bitter is the revenge of the unregenerate heart. It operates like poison

upon the body, swelling and convulsing nature; nor can there be any sound health in the soul till it is conquered and expelled by sovereign grace.

Lycophron and his brother Pitholaus, seeing now no hopes of retaining power in Thessaly, resigned their pretensions, and delivered up the city of Pheræ into the hands of Philip. The victorious monarch restored all the cities of Thessaly to liberty, as he had promised; but he was not unmindful of his own interests. He placed garrisons in Pheræ, Pegasæ, and Magnesia, and took other measures to secure himself against any change that might occur in the public mind among the proverbially fickle Thessalians.

Philip had now cleared the way for his master-stroke of conquest, that of the subjugation of the states of Greece. As regards Phocis, he had a plausible pretext in their late opposition to him, and he soon put his forces in motion to invade that territory.

At this time, B. C. 352, the Phocians had recovered from their overthrow, and were at war with the Thebans, who, probably, seconded the design of Philip by their solicitation. Be this as it may, he commenced his march towards Thermopylæ, the possession of which pass would have given him a free passage into Greece, especially into Attica. But he was doomed to receive a check in his career. The Athenians, foreseeing that the safety of Athens and of all Greece would be endangered if Philip were allowed to carry his design into execution, promptly sent a squadron to sea, under the command of Diophantus, with troops sufficient to defend the strait of Thermopylæ. When Philip, therefore, appeared at the entrance of these straits, he found his further passage prohibited, and he prudently led his army back to its former station, and subsequently to Macedonia.

This retreat of Philip may be looked upon as the era of his deep-rooted enmity to the Athenians. He saw that they were the only people capable of efficiently opposing his designs upon Greece, or of causing him uneasiness in his own dominions. For the purpose of humbling them, therefore, he provided a fleet of light ships, which continually disturbed their commerce. He also increased his army by new levies, and projected the destruction of the Athenian colonies in Greece. Nor was this all: by large appointments, and the corrupting influence of his gold, he secured some eminent orators to hold forth the prospect of enduring peace, or to

alarm the public with expensive estimates, while they pretended a zeal for waging war with Macedonia.

Demosthenes alone, of all the Athenians, had a just idea of the danger to which his country was exposed from the growing power of Philip; and he alone had capacity sufficient to point out the proper method for reducing his power. He now came forward as the opponent of the Macedonian sovereign. Against him he commenced that series of orations, denominated "Philippics," which have handed down his name to distant ages as an orator, and as a foe to tyranny.

After apologizing for taking upon himself to commence the debate, he being the youngest orator in Athens, in a strain of animated eloquence, he proceeded to rouse his fellow-countrymen from their lethargy, and to develope his plans for the improvement of the public affairs. He told them that they had no reason to despair, and ascribed their calamities solely to their sloth and indolence. These, he said, might be removed by exertion; and he reminded them of the glorious stand which, in defence of the liberties of the states of Greece, they had recently made against Lacedæmon, in order to stimulate them to like action. He did not deny that Philip was a formidable adversary; but he urged that had Philip himself allowed the fear of encountering a noble foe to deter him, he would never have ventured to contend with Athens, nor have risen to such a height of power. Philip, said the impassioned orator, displayed a different spirit. He knew that the numerous possessions, which seemed to render his antagonists unassailable, and which he sought to obtain from them, were prizes which must fall to the lot of him who acted with superior vigour and perseverance; whence, following up his system of activity, he became master of all, either by conquest, alliance, or treaties.

"If, then, Athenians," continued Demosthenes, "you will now choose similar sentiments; if every one of you, laying aside all pretexts, will, to the utmost of his ability, serve his country, the rich by contributing, the young by fighting; in one word, if you will act simultaneously, then, if the gods permit, you may recover what you have lost by your indolence, and may avenge yourselves upon Philip. For, let it never be imagined that his greatness is immutably fixed, as though he were a god. Among those who seem devoted to him, there are those who fear, envy, and hate him; and if they suppress their feelings, it is because, thanks to your sluggishness and indolence, they have no refuge whither they

might fly. This indolence, I repeat, you must shake off. For look, O Athenians, at the state of affairs! See, to what a pitch of insolence this man has reached! He leaves you no longer the choice of acting or remaining quiet; but he menaces you by his haughty language, and by encroaching upon you in all quarters. He draws a net round you on every hand, while you sit motionless, and look on.

"When, O Athenians, will you act as you ought? When some occurrence rouses you to action? When some necessity compels you to arm? In what light do you consider your present condition? Is not disgrace the most pressing necessity which free men can experience? Will you be content to wander through the public places, asking of each other, What news?* Can any thing be more new, than that a man of Macedonia, should subdue Athens, and regulate the affairs of Greece? 'Is Philip dead?' 'No, but he is ill.' But what matters it to you whether he die or live? If this Philip were to die, you would soon raise up another by your carelessness to your own interests. It is not to his own strength, but to your supineness, that he is indebted for his aggrandizement. Be sure of this—Should aught happen to Philip—should we be thus favoured by Fortune, always more ready to serve us than we to serve her, you might, by being on the spot, be able to dispose of all things at your pleasure. But as you now are, tardy at once in council, and preparation, you could not take possession even of Amphipolis, though offered to you by some auspicious event."

The measures proposed by Demosthenes were: 1. That fifty ships of war should be manned by Athenians, and attended by an adequate number of transports and store ships for half the cavalry. 2. That the military force should consist of 2000 foot and 200 horse, of which number, Athenians, who were to serve for a limited period, were to constitute one fourth. 3. That ten light vessels should form a covering squadron. 4. That the pay and subsistence of the hired troops should be regularly provided for them, and that they should be commanded solely by Athenian officers. 5. That an army should be kept constantly ready for action in the vicinity of Macedonia. And, 6. That all military affairs should be conducted in future in a systematic manner.

At the close of his harangue, the orator reverted to, and strengthened some of his arguments, and endeavoured to

* An illustration of Acts xvii. 21.

awaken the Athenians to a sense of their danger, by appeals to their pride, shame, and apprehensions. He declared to them that they must look for safety only to their own means and exertions, and that if they did not carry war fearlessly and vigorously into the territories of their enemy, they would be reduced to the calamitous necessity of sustaining it within their own domains.

History does not inform us concerning the result of this celebrated oration. It is probable that the eloquence of the speaker delighted his listening audience, and a decree was perhaps enthusiastically passed, to carry his advice into effect, and speedily forgotten. Such was the fatal defect in the Athenian character, as may be gathered from the oration of Demosthenes for the Rhodians. In reproach, he tells them, that it is not difficult to convince them with respect to the measures which are best to be pursued—the difficulty consists in persuading them to carry those measures into execution. He adds, "When you have determined what to do, and when you have anew confirmed your determination by a decree, you are just as far from doing it as you were before."

How does the character of the Athenians resemble that of mankind at the present day, in an affair of greater moment than even the salvation of Athens. They are convinced, by the lips or the pen of eloquence, of the evils of sin, and they resolve to forsake it—of their need of grace, and they determine to seek it—of the transitory nature of all earthly affairs, and they decree within themselves to prepare for eternity. But they go out in the world, and these impulses for good are forgotten. They are again convinced, again make resolutions, and again forego reform, till at length the day of ruin comes, as it did on the Athenians, and the opportunity of seeking the Saviour's grace, of suing for pardon and peace, and thus working out their salvation, is lost for ever. Notwithstanding all their resolutions, they

"Die self-accused of life run all to waste."—COWPER.

The divisions of the Grecian states, as well as the supineness of the Athenians, were favourable to the projected invasion of Philip. On one side, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians were intent on reducing the strength of the Thebans, whilst, on the other, the Thessalians and Thebans devoted themselves to the service of Philip, thereby assisting him in forming their own yoke.

Philip, like an able politician, knew how to take advantage

of these dissensions and this supineness, and he recommenced, indirectly, indeed, but not less effectually, reducing the power of the Athenians.

Olynthus, a city of Thrace, in the peninsula of Palene, was originally a colony of the Athenians. Its inhabitants had been at variance with Amyntas, father of Philip, but had made an alliance with the latter soon after he became monarch, as seen in a previous page. But the friendship of the ambitious is inconstant as the waves of the ocean. When Philip found himself able to execute his project, he took proper measures in order to besiege Olynthus, and annex it to his own dominions.

The inhabitanis of Olynthus, discerning the storm gathering at a distance, sought the aid of the Athenians. Ambassadors were despatched to Athens, to propose a league between the Athenians and Olynthians, and to seek such assistance as would enable the latter to make head against the ambitious monarch of Macedonia.

Demosthenes hailed these overtures with delight, and he resolved to support them with all his influence in the general assembly; in pursuance of which resolution, he delivered the oration denominated the first Olynthiac.

The orator commenced this oration in a triumphant tone. He considered it, he said, as an especial favour of the gods to Athens, that she should now be offered the alliance of a state possessed of respectable resources, and which was situated on the frontier of Philip's dominions. Convinced that any accommodation with him must be destructive, he conjured his hearers not to disgrace and injure themselves, by failing to take advantage of the event. He then censured their past conduct, telling them that the greatness of their enemy was chiefly their own fault, and that of the traitors among them, who ought to be punished at a seasonable opportunity. Then aiming his eloquence at Philip, he described him as the most perfidious of human beings, who was indebted for his elevation to fraud and falsehood, in proof of which he instanced the manner in which the Athenians, Olynthians, and Thessalians, had been, each in their turns, deceived by his specious show of friendship. From this he augured his fall. "When," said the orator, "a confederacy is based on the mutual good will and interest of the allies, they share the evils cheerfully, they endure reverses, and yet persevere. But when, as is the case with Philip, a man has been raised by ambition and violation of right, the first and slightest shock is sufficient to sub-

vert the fabric of his greatness. For it is not possible that a durable power should be built upon injustice, perjury, and deceit. During a limited period, imposture may succeed, and may seem destined to flourish; but time unmasks it, and it sinks of itself into ruin. A house, a ship, and every edifice, ought to have firm and solid foundations; so ought justice and truth to be the bases of our actions, which is not the case with respect to the deeds of Philip."

Demosthenes now advised the Athenians to send prompt and effectual aid to the Olynthians, and suggested that an embassy should be sent to encourage the Thessalians to revolt, and assert their claims to Pagasæ and Magnesia. He then warned the Athenians that words alone would be useless, descanted on the weakness of Macedonia, and again blackened the character of Philip; affirmed that the Macedonians were tired with perpetual toils and sacrifices, and contemptuously depreciated the merit of the boasted military establishment of Philip.

The orator drew an odious picture of the vices of Philip, representing him as meanly jealous of rival excellence, envious, greedy of flattery, intemperate, debauched, and obscene. Yet he bore testimony to what some historians have termed his "splendid qualities." He described him as thirsting for glory, eagerly pursuing the phantom, despising safety, and even life, to obtain it; always in the field, every where present, active, vigilant, and letting no opportunity slip which could be turned to advantage. With some bitterness of heart, Demosthenes then contrasted this conduct with that of the Athenians, representing them as wasting their days, and the strength of the state, in debating, delaying, decreeing, seeking news, hoping that others would take up their cause, accusing and impeaching each other, and in expecting to be saved by the very measures which had ruined them.

Still the orator predicted the downfall of Philip, should the people of Athens act with wisdom and vigour. Then, blending reproach with eulogy, he expressed his astonishment that they who had warred against Lacedæmon for the liberties of Greece—they who had often displayed a noble disinterestedness in forbearing to aggrandize themselves—they who had exposed their lives and lavished their riches in behalf of others, and had frequently extended protection to the other Grecian states, should now, when their rights were invaded, decline to contend with the foe, withhold the requisite contributions. and tamely submit to losses and wrongs.

The principal means of checking the progress of Philip, suggested by Demosthenes, were, that each person should pay in proportion to his fortune; to take the field with alacrity, till all the citizens should have served in their turn; to suspend prosecutions till affairs should be brought into a better condition; to render it the interest as much as it was the duty of the generals to act vigorously for the commonwealth; to put an end to the custom of throwing upon one portion of the community the whole of the public burden; to allow freedom of speech and action to every one anxious for the welfare of the community; and to consider the wisdom of the advice given, rather than the reputation of the orator.

Demades, an orator who had risen from humble life by the force of his own genius, and who was held in high reputation among the Athenians, took the lead in opposing Demosthenes. By his enemies, he was accused of being in the pay of Philip, and his exertions on this occasion are said to have been largely rewarded by the Macedonian sovereign. The efforts of Demades, however, were of no avail in the present instance. Roused by the eloquence of Demosthenes, the Athenians resolved that succour should be granted to the Olynthians; but they satisfied themselves with adopting a half measure instead of acting with vigour; thus insuring their own defeat. They deemed it sufficient to assist Olynthus with thirteen galleys and two thousand mercenary troops, the command of which was entrusted to Chares, and which was wholly insufficient to rescue Olynthus from the grasp of Philip.

While these proceedings were going forward at Athens, Philip commenced hostilities against the Olynthians, B. C. 349. He led his army into the territory of Chalcidice, and opened the campaign by storming the fortress of Zeira, which he levelled with the ground. Terrified by his arms, or seduced by his arts and bribes, the inhabitants of several of the neighbouring cities displayed some rivalry as to which should be the first in submitting; so that Philip was embarrassed to decide which he should first receive into obedience.

At length the expedition under Chares arrived. It was too weak, however, to oppose Philip; whence Chares resolved to make a diversion by invading some unprotected part of Macedonia. Accordingly, he steered up the Thermaic gulf, and effected a landing in the province of Bottiæa, which, though containing the Macedonian capital, was left unprotected. Chares overran the open country, and laid it under contribu-

tion; then embarking his troops, he sailed to the peninsula of Pallene, where Philip had stationed 800 men, probably to support such of the inhabitants as had declared in his favour. Chares attacked and routed this division, after which he collected a considerable booty. He then returned to Athens, where he gave an exaggerated account of his achievements, and treated the citizens with a public supper at the cost of sixty talents, or 12,000*l.*

Winter suspended the military operations of Philip; but, while his army was reposing, he carried on the system of intrigue and bribery, which had already been so successful, by his active emissaries and partizans. Alarmed by the progress he made, and by the defection of their allies, the Olynthians applied to Athens for more effectual assistance than had yet been afforded. Demosthenes supported this application in an oration denominated the second Olynthiac.

In this oration, Demosthenes lamented the carelessness and negligence of his countrymen, and insisted that the preservation of Olynthus was necessary for the security of Athens. Olynthus, he said, was the last barrier left to check the progress of Philip. He then contrasted the conduct of the present generation with their progenitors, marking with bitter censure the measures of those who held the reins of government. "We are now," exclaimed the orator, "without rivals. Lacedæmon is in the dust; Thebes has enough to do at home: no other state can dispute supremacy with us: yet at a time when we might have enjoyed internal security, and been umpires abroad, we have been stripped of our foreign possessions, have spent more than 1500 talents fruitlessly, have lost in peace the allies gained during war, and have raised up a formidable enemy to ourselves. As regards resources for the fitting out of an adequate armament, he proposed that the revenue called the "theoric," which was appropriated to theatrical representations, should be restored to the service of the state. This proposal was alike opposed to the decree of Eubulus, and the disposition of the public mind, and was therefore hazardous to advance; but Demosthenes displayed so much skill in keeping clear of the penalty denounced by the decree of Eubulus, and in pointing out by what means it might be rescinded or eluded, that the advice was listened to by the people with a degree of patience that astonished the orator himself. They did not, however, attend to the advice. Pleasure, which is the pulse of this busy world in all ages, was loved too much to allow of their foregoing it; and the

salutary advice, though listened to, produced no effect. The poet has well said,—

> Though various are the tempers of mankind,
> Pleasure's gay family holds all in chains.
> Some most affect the black; and some the fair:
> Whate'er the motive, pleasure is the mark:
> For her the black assassin draws his sword;
> For her, dark statesmen trim their midnight lamp,
> To which no single sacrifice may fall;
> The stoic proud, for pleasure, pleasure scorn'd;
> For her, affliction's daughters, grief indulge,
> And find, or hope, a luxury in tears;
> For her, guilt, shame, toil, danger, we defy,
> And with an aim voluptuous, rush on death:
> Thus universal her despotic power.—YOUNG.

Although the Athenians would not consent that the theatrical fund should be appropriated to a nobler purpose, the eloquence of Demosthenes induced them to grant the Olynthians a fresh reinforcement. As on the former occasion, however, they neutralized their assistance by its inadequacy. They voted only 4000 mercenaries, 150 horse, and eighteen triremes; and over these, Charidemus, a man devoid of all principle, and whose brutal propensities excited hatred and disgust, was appointed commander.

Philip resumed his operations in the spring of B. C. 349. His sword, however, was almost needless. Gold had so effectually cleared the way before him, that his approach to a place seemed to be the signal for throwing open its gates. Thus fell Mycerbina, a town near the head of the Toronaic gulf; thus fell also the sea-port city of Torone, not far from the southern extremity of the Sithonian peninsula, and thus the whole of that peninsula submitted to his dominion. The only efforts made to stop his progress, by Charidemus, moreover, were some useless incursions into the province of Bottiæa; after which, he retired to Olynthus, probably to repress rebellion in the city, for there was a faction in that city favourable to Philip.

Thus weakened and embarrassed, the Olynthians once more called upon the Athenians for immediate and effectual aid, and their cause was again pleaded by Demosthenes in his third Olynthiac.

In this oration, the Athenian orator restated all his former arguments, strengthened them with cogent reasons for acting vigorously, and expatiated on the folly and danger of foregoing this opportunity of arresting the power of Philip. By

defending Olynthus, he said, they might make Macedonia the seat of war; but if Philip were allowed to triumph over it, there was nothing to hinder him from carrying his arms wherever he thought proper. Attica would be exposed to invasion, and a contest continued for one month only, within their own frontier, would produce a ruinous expense and lasting ignominy.

The plan of operations now suggested by Demosthenes was, that two armaments should be simultaneously despatched; the one to secure the Olynthian cities, the other to harass Philip, and divert his movements by descents upon Macedonia. Unless this mode of attack were adopted, he said, the expedition of the Athenians would most probably be of no avail; for if the whole of the succours were employed in ravaging his kingdom, Philip would defer meeting it till he had reduced Olynthus; and if they were sent to Olynthus, he would persevere against them and the Olynthians till he had overpowered them.

Demosthenes succeeded in stirring up the Athenians to increased energy. A reinforcement of 2000 infantry, all Athenian citizens, 300 cavalry, and seventeen triremes, was voted by the people. But this force was not sufficient to save Olynthus. Having subjugated or seduced the confederate cities, Philip now led his army towards that city. The Olynthians, fearing his power, endeavoured to open a negotiation. Philip continued his march without replying, till he arrived within five miles of the city, when in one brief and cruel sentence, he pronounced their doom: "Either you," said he, "must quit Olynthus, or I must quit Macedonia."

The sword was now the only resource left to the Olynthians. Collecting their troops, therefore, in conjunction with a portion of the Athenian auxiliaries, they resolved to risk a battle. They failed in a first engagement; but, undismayed by the repulse, they again gave battle to the monarch. They were defeated a second time, and were compelled to confine themselves to the defence of their walls. But the emissaries of Philip were within the walls of Olynthus, and defence was of little avail. The city was soon after betrayed by Euthycrates and Lasthenes, who, in an evil hour, were intrusted by the people with the direction not only of military, but also of civil affairs. Thus Philip entered Olynthus, by the breach which his gold had made. The city was delivered over to his power with no other stipulation than that the lives of its citizens should be spared.

The stipulation concerning the existence of the Olynthians was observed; but they were deprived of all that renders existence valuable. Stripped of their possessions, and without distinction of age or sex, they were publicly sold as slaves to the ends of the earth. Their city, also, recently so beautiful, flourishing, and potent, was levelled with the ground. From that date, it existed only in the memory of the captives, and the page of history.

Reader, mark the erring nature of man! Overjoyed at the reduction of Olynthus, and regardless of the sighs, the tears, and the bitter groanings of the captives, Philip, in token of his joy, celebrated, with all possible magnificence, the Olympian festival, instituted by his predecessor Archelaus. The world stamped its approbation of his conduct. Multitudes thronged from distant quarters to witness the sacrifices, sports, and theatrical entertainments, in which actors from every Grecian state played their part. Philip himself presided at the banquets, and laboured to win the hearts of his guests. He was not unsuccessful; for he distributed his gifts and promises, on this occasion with such profusion, that he gained many converts to his cause. Thus the spoils of the ruined city were employed to purchase the instruments of future conquest.

One memorable instance of friendship which occurred at this season of rejoicing deserves recording. Satyrus, a distinguished comic actor, was observed to be thoughtful, and to manifest no anxiety to profit by the royal bounty. Philip questioned him as to the cause.

"For such presents as the company in general receive," replied Satyrus, "I have no wish; but there is one favour, the easiest of all to grant, which I would willingly ask, did I not fear to be denied the boon."

Philip desired Satyrus to speak freely, and promised that his request should be granted, whatever it might be.

Encouraged by his assurance, Satyrus proceeded: "Apollophanes, of Pydna," said he, "was my friend. When he was wrongfully put to death, his relatives, fearing the lives of his daughters, sent them to Olynthus for safety. When that city was taken, they were made prisoners, and they are now your captives. I entreat you to bestow them upon me; I will make no unworthy use of your gift. My only intention is, to give them marriage portions, and to provide them with husbands, that they may be happy wives."

The guests unanimously applauded the conduct of Satyrus,

and the monarch himself was moved by such a request. Apollophanes was obnoxious to him, he having been concerned in the murder of Alexander, his eldest brother; but silencing his feelings of revenge, he yielded to the request of Satyrus, and added to the boon a liberal donation.

The fall of Olynthus created great alarm at Athens. In the transport of their anger, the Athenians passed severe decrees against the betrayers of their allies, and they turned their indignation upon Chares, who had commanded the succours sent to Olynthus. Some gratification was afforded to their revengeful passions, by the fate of Euthycrates and Lasthenes, who, having fallen into disgrace with Philip, were put to death: thus receiving the reward of treachery at the hands of their associate.

This was not the only effect the fall of Olynthus had upon the public mind. It threw a damp over the martial spirit of the Athensians; and reviewing their own weakness, and the power of Philip, a desire for peace became general. There was an obstacle, however, in the way, both making overtures, and of receiving them from Philip. In a fit of indignation, they had previously passed a decree, by which all communication was prohibited, even by the means of a herald, with the government of Macedonia. Philip had himself already endeavoured to elude this degree; but his overtures were passed over in silent contempt. But the Athenians were now more humble than at that time, and they resorted to an indirect method of discovering whether Philip was still disposed to embrace the sweets of peace. Phrynon, and Ctesiphon, a friend of Demosthenes, were sent to the Macedonian court, under the pretence of procuring an exchange of prisoners. They were received with great courtesy by Philip; and in a conversation with Ctesiphon, the monarch protested that he had reluctantly engaged in the war, and that he desired its termination. This was sufficient. On his return, Ctesiphon reported this to the people, adding many flattering expressions and promises of benefit which Philip had uttered. The Athenians, notwithstanding their former experience as to the monarch's veracity, confided in his word, and they seized the opportunity of removing the chief stumbling-block which stood in the way of negotiation. A decree was passed, revoking that which forbade any envoy to be admitted from Macedonia.

The moment for establishing peace between the Athenians and the Macedonian monarch was not yet arrived. Hitherto

the wily monarch had observed a neutrality with respect to the sacred war, and he seemed to wait till both parties had weakened themselves by slaughter, before he declared himself favourable to either party. That period now (B. C. 347) arrived. The haughtiness and ambitious views with which the victories of Epaminondas had inspired the Thebans, had now abated. Weakened by the Phocians, they sought the aid of Philip, and he resolved to espouse their cause. To give a specious colour to his arms, besides the gratitude which he affected to feel for Thebes, in which he had been educated, he pretended to derive honour from the zeal with which he was fired with reference to the insulted Deity; and was glad to gain the reputation of being a religious prince, in order to conciliate the esteem and friendship of the Greeks. His only motive, however, for joining the Thebans was, to gain a footing in Greece, that he might bring the several states under his dominion.

The Athenians seemed to be aware of this, and deserting the cause of the Phocians, which they had hitherto espoused, they thought only of averting the evil by making peace with Philip. There was some difficulty in propounding peace with the ambitious monarch of Macedonia, as any advance on their parts might be regarded by the adversary as a confession of weakness. Recourse was therefore had to stratagem, as on a former occasion. Among the Athenians who, on the surrender of Olynthus, fell into the hands of Philip, there were two men of note; namely, Stratocles and Eucrates. It was resolved, that some one should be sent to negociate with the Macedonian monarch, for the ransom of these captives, by which an opening would be afforded for ascertaining whether Philip was still inclined to a treaty.

Aristodemus, who was an actor by profession, and who had acquired the favour of Philip by displaying his theatrical talents at Pella, was chosen to perform this mission. Aristodemus performed the office assigned to him, and speedily returned to Athens. Instead, however, of rendering an account of the proceedings to the council, he preserved a dogged silence on the subject. In the mean time, Stratocles was released without ransom, and grateful for this generosity, he came publicly forward to declare that Philip was anxious for peace. Aristodemus was now summoned to make his report, and he confirmed the testimony of Stratocles, with reference to the pacific intentions of Philip. Gratified by these tidings, the Athenians forgot the delay in communicating them, and

decreed a golden crown, at the instance of Demosthenes himself, as a reward for the services of Aristodemus.

After Aristodemus had made this report, a day was appointed to deliberate on the propriety of negotiating with Philip. In this council, which was held B. C. 346, it was decreed, unanimously, that ten envoys should be deputed to treat with the Macedonian sovereign. The deputies appointed were Demosthenes, Eschines, Aristodemus, Phrynon, Ctesiphon, Philocrates, Iatrocles, Dercyllus, Nausicles, and Cimon, all men of note in the state. An eleventh ambassador was appointed, whose business it was to watch over the interests of the dependents and allies of Athens. The person to whom this charge was committed, was Agalacreon of Tenedos.

As soon as the resolution for negotiating a peace with Philip was passed, a herald was despatched to Pella, to demand a passport for the Athenian envoys. It was the policy of Philip, to hold out hopes that he was favourable to peace, and therefore the passport was granted. The envoys now took their departure for Pella, on their important mission. On their way, it was arranged what part each should act in the negotiation, and the order in which they should speak. It was agreed that the eldest should open the business, and should be followed by his colleagues, according to age. Eschines says, that Demosthenes, who was the junior orator, boasted that he would strike Philip dumb; that he would convict him of injustice with regard to the origin of the war, and induce him to surrender Amphipolis. He had made a wrong estimate of his own powers, and the character of the monarch.

Immediately on their arrival at Pella, Philip gave audience to the envoys. Eschines opened the negotiations by a speech in which he pleaded the cause of his country with much eloquence, reminding the monarch of the favours that he himself, and others of his family, had received from Athens. The rest of the envoys took up the tale, each in their turns, according to their seniority. At length Demonsthenes commenced his address. All eyes were fixed upon him, expecting to hear a masterpiece of eloquence. But they were disappointed. He who had so often hurled the thunder of his eloquence against the head of the monarch from the tribune of Athens, now trembled in his presence. With a faltering voice he commenced obscurely, hesitatingly, and ungracefully. For a moment he then rallied his energies, but his trepidation returned;

he lost the thread of his discourse, paused, strove to recover himself, and at length became mute. Philip courteously, yet sarcastically requested his oratorical adversary to take time for recovering his spirits and memory, significantly remarking that he was not in a theatre, exposed to the clamours and insults of a crowd. Demosthenes then essayed to continue his speech, but after uttering a few sentences, he gave up the struggle, and retired with his colleagues, that the monarch might prepare to reply to their various arguments.

The envoys were soon summoned into the royal presence, to hear the monarch's reply; and though he had been addressed by nine speakers, he left no point touched upon unnoticed. To Eschines he responded at length, which mark of attention, and his silence towards Demosthenes, is said to have excited the evil passions of envy in the breast of that orator. The audience being concluded, the monarch invited the envoys to sup with him; on which occasion, he called into action all his powers of conversation, conviviality, and pleasantry, to win the hearts of his guests. Dissimulation taught him to act thus, that their hostility might be disarmed, and that he might, on a future day, triumph over their country at his pleasure.

The envoys, soon after this, had their audience of leave. On this occasion, Philip reiterated his professions of good will towards Athens, and delivered to them a letter, in which his sentiments were contained with respect to their overtures. In this epistle, he expressed a wish to be both at peace and in alliance with Athens; darkly intimating, that if they admitted him to alliance, the republic might expect some benefit of importance at his hands. He added, that he was now on the eve of marching to complete his conquests in Thrace; but he promised, that while negotiations were pending between the Macedonians and the Athenians, he would refrain from hostilities on this side of the Chersonesus. All this, however, was only to preserve Athens in fancied security, to prevent them from making preparations for the field of battle on a future day.

With the same design in view, Philip at length sent ambassadors to Athens to conclude a treaty. The men chosen for this mission were Parmenio, the most celebrated of his generals; Antipater, eminent as a statesman; and Eurylochus, eloquent as he was brave.

After some day's delay, occasioned by the feast of Bacchus, during which the ambassadors were hospitably entertained,

especially by Demosthenes, who was anxious for the honour of his country, the proposals of Philip were deliberated on in the assembly of the people. The debate was long and vehement; but the resolution for alliance, as well as peace, was finally carried, and the preliminaries of the treaty arranged. By a strange circumstance, Phocis was excluded from the muster-roll of the allies of the Athenians. On the part of Philip, this was doubtless a feature of his design; but on that of the Athenians, it is a mystery, and reflects greatly on their character for political wisdom.

According to Demosthenes, it was during the discussion on this treaty, that Eschines exhibited signs of being corrupted by the gold of Philip. He founds his charge upon the abrupt change in the sentiments of Eschines. One day, he violently opposed a motion of Philocrates, and he as violently supported it on the next. The gold of Philip was, therefore, still at work. The hand of Demosthenes alone, indeed, of all the Athenian orators, finally escaped the "ugly smutch" imprinted on it by bribery.

The treaty of peace and alliance with Macedonia was now complete on the part of the Athenians; but it was not so with Philip. He was not definitely bound till he had ratified it in person, by oath, in the presence of deputies from Athens. Eleven individuals were, therefore, sent as envoys to receive his solemn ratification. Among these, were Eschines, Eubulus, and Demosthenes. The latter, suspecting some of the envoys, seems to have resolved to embrace this opportunity of watching their actions, though a wish to ransom some prisoners was the ostensible reason for his acceptation of this second mission.

It was some time before the envoys set forward on their mission. So dilatory were they, indeed, that Demosthenes was compelled to obtain a decree, from the council of the five hundred, directing their departure. This decree set them in motion; but neither that, nor the remonstrances and reproaches of Demosthenes, could stimulate them to proper exertion. Six days only were requisite for their journey, and they were twenty-five in accomplishing it. When they arrived at Pella, Philip was warring in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont. The decree directed them to proceed to the spot where Philip was to be found; but notwithstanding this, and the bitter invectives of Demosthenes, they remained at Pella twenty-seven days, till Philip returned. All this time had been employed by the monarch in reducing Serrium,

Doriscum, and Myrtium, towns allied to Athens, and in securing to himself dominion over Thrace.

The envoys were soon admitted to an audience with Philip. What passed at this audience, however, is uncertain, the distorted narrative of Eschines, alone, being handed down to posterity. The same courtesy and hospitality which had been experienced by the former envoys were extended to the present; and the politic feelings of Philip were further exhibited by the tender of a large present to each of the deputies, which was accepted by all but Demosthenes.

The envoys had now been absent from Athens more than two months. It was Philip's policy to detain them still longer; and to accomplish this purpose, he is said to have won their acquiescence by bribes, Demosthenes excepted, who was detained by force. The pretext for detaining them, was, that he was desirous of their mediation to reconcile the Halians and Pharsalians. In pursuance of this scheme, he took them with him to Pherœ. At this place, when his preparations to pass Thermopylæ were completed, and opposition would be vain, he ratified the treaty.

By this treaty, the Athenians were secured in the possession of the Chersonesus, with the exception of Cardia; but they resigned Amphipolis, Doriscum, and the other recently conquered towns, and abandoned the citizens of Halus, the Phocians, and the Thracian allies. Such a treaty was dishonourable to the Athenians, and served to show the deep policy of the overreaching Philip.

On the return of the envoys, Demosthenes hastened to represent the conduct of his colleagues to his fellow citizens. Every circumstance which had occurred, from the day of their departure till the day of their return, convinced him that the interests of their country had been betrayed by them. These sentiments he enforced with his wonted eloquence. He accused them with having grossly and corruptly failed in their duty; warned his hearers not to rely on the delusive and fraudulent promises which would be made to them; and recommended that Thermopylæ and Phocis should be immediately secured, that the fatal consequence which would result from the treachery of his accomplices in the mission, and the ambition of Philip, might be averted.

For a moment, the Athenians were inclined to follow the advice of Demosthenes, and were justly indignant at the conduct of the envoys; but when the business of the embassy was brought under cognizance, Eschines and his colleagues

triumphed. Delighted by the magnificent prospect which Eschines opened to their view, as following in the train of the friendship of Philip, the credulous multitude were clamourous in their applause. Demosthenes in vain attempted to disabuse them. He was interrupted on every hand by jibes, jests, and vociferous shouts of laughter, so that he was compelled to desist from his harangue, and retire. He did so with these memorable words: "If, Athenians, any of those things which my colleagues have promised to you should come to pass, then bestow on them praise, honour, and reward, and refuse them to me; but if the contrary should happen, let the weight of your anger be borne by them alone."

While these transactions were pending, the Thebans again sought aid at the hands of Philip. B. C. 345. Notwithstanding they had been assisted by some Macedonian reinforcements, the Phocians had defeated them at Neon and Hedylium, and pushed their exertions with so much vigour, that the Thebans were convinced their present force was inadequate to withstand their power, and they resolved to solicit Philip for more efficacious succour. Accordingly, a Theban embassy was despatched to Pella, where it arrived while the Athenian envoys were on their second mission. Demosthenes records, to the honour of this embassy, that they refused rich presents in money, captives, and golden cups, which Philip offered to them. It was his assistance alone, they said, that they sought, and this was promised to them.

The Phocians were sensible of the coming danger, and prepared to resist it with resolution. They applied for aid to Lacedæmon, their sole remaining ally, and the politic Archidamus complied with their request, chiefly, it would appear, to be at hand to support, in case of their fall, an ancient Spartan claim to the superintendency of the Delphic temple. With this design, he led a body of 1000 heavy armed infantry into Phocis, and he likewise sent envoys to Pella, to divert the plans of the Theban deputies. Phalæcus, who ruled over the Phocians, thus reinforced, occupied the pass of Thermopylæ with 8000 men, watching the shadow of coming events.

The progress of Philip was now marked with consummate skill. Prudence, that quality of the mind which gives value to all the rest, waited on his every step. He saw that the time was not yet arrived when he might march into Phocis, and lay it prostrate, without danger to himself. Thermopylæ was held by Phalæcus; Halus continued to hold his army at

bay; Pheræ exhibited signs of a refractory spirit; discontent was visible in other quarters of Thessaly; Proxenus was hovering on the coast with his squadron; and he feared that Athens would take the alarm, and be roused into action. His policy, therefore, was, to excite the hopes of all parties. To the Thessalians and Thebans, he held out the prospect of revenge and aggrandizement; to the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, the expectation that Thebes would be humbled; and to the Phocians themselves, whose destruction he meditated, the hope that he would shield them from that destruction with which they were threatened by their foes. So far did he carry this base dissimulation, that he expressed a wish, either to give up the task of settling the affairs of the Phocians, or to share it with those who were inclined to favour them. The Lacedæmonians and Athenians were successively invited by him to undertake the arrangement, but they declined: the former, from having discovered that Philip meant to deceive them; the latter from some motives hard to be understood, and difficult to reconcile with sound policy.

The moment at length arrived when Philip could securely proceed on his work of desolation. Halus had surrendered, and its inhabitants driven into exile; Thessaly was quieted; and all his resources, and those of his allies, thereby became available. One obstacle, however, was in his way. Phalæcus still held the pass of Thermopylæ, and it was necessary, to prevent difficulty, delay, and loss, that he should be removed. The art, seconded perhaps by the gold of Philip, effected his removal. Negotiations having been entered into, Phalæcus was permitted to retreat to Peloponnesus, with the mercenaries under his command, on condition of delivering up the towns of Thronium, Nicæ, and Alponus.

Philip now passed the straits of Thermopylæ, at the head of the Macedonians and Thessalians. His approach to Phocis was the signal for the emigration of numbers of the natives of that country, which Philip observed with pleasure, as it cleared the way for victory. The great body of the Phocians, however, still remained. But these did not look upon the monarch of Macedonia in the light of an enemy. On the contrary, they persisted in regarding his movement as the guarantee of their safety from the power of their bitter enemies, the Thessalians, Locrians, and Thebans. Their hopes were founded on the language which Philip used towards them, and still more upon the strong assurances concerning the beneficent intentions of the monarch, as given by Eschines

and his colleagues to the Athenians. It was these feelings which now induced the Phocians to conclude a treaty with Philip, by which they surrendered up their cities to him, and submitted to his decision.

When the Phocians made this treaty with Philip, they had forgotten that his generous impulses never interfered with his policy, and that the guide of his actions was ambition. For various reasons, all centring in his own interests and honours, their destruction was quickly resolved upon. That he might not appear unjust, however, in an affair which concerned all Greece, he assembled a fraction of the Amphictyonic council, to sit in judgment on the Phocians. The council was formed of their most deadly enemies. In it sat the representatives of the Thessalians, Thebans, Locrians, and the wild mountaineers of Œta, all thirsting for blood. The latter vehemently insisted that the Amphictyonic law should be enforced against sacrilege in its extremest rigour, and they demanded that the whole population of Phocis should be cast headlong from the rocks of Delphi. Eschines appropriates to himself the merit of subverting this barbarous proposition: and it is certain that he was at the council. It may be doubted, however, whether the policy of Philip was not more potent than the pleading of Eschines in this matter. But though death was not assigned to the Phocians, every degradation short of absolute slavery was their lot. Malice itself might have grinned with satisfaction at their doom. It was decreed that their cities, venerable for antiquity, and renowned in the Homeric page, should be destroyed, or reduced to small towns of fifty houses each; that they should yield up their arms and horses, the one to be broken and burned, and the other to be sold; that they were only to retain their lands on condition of paying annually sixty talents, or 12,000*l.*, till the whole amount of treasure expended was reimbursed; and that those who had committed the sacrilege which gave rise to the war should be irrevocably proscribed. Against those Phocians who had become voluntary exiles, it was decreed that they should be considered beings accursed of the gods, and excluded from a refuge in every part of Greece. Philip also demanded their deprivation of the privilege of sending delegates to the Amphictyonic council; a privilege which the council readily transferred to Philip and his descendants. Philip was also invested with the superintendence of the Delphic temple, and the presidency of the Pythian games, the latter of which offices was taken

from the Corinthians, because they had rendered their assistance to the Phocians.

The task of putting this sentence into execution was committed to the Thebans, to whom, also, the sovereignty over Coronea, Orchomenus, and other towns taken from them during the war, was restored. The Thebans performed their welcome task with alacrity and precision. Demosthenes declares, that when he passed through Phocis to Delphi, at a subsequent date, words could never describe its deplorable situation. Ruined houses, walls overthrown, and ravaged fields, made up the scene; with here and there a few women and children, and dejected and feeble old men, on whom the soldiers of Thebes and Macedonia were quartered, for the purpose of stifling the voice of complaint, and enforcing the payment of the fine imposed by the Amphictyonic council.

"—— What are ye, laurel'd heroes, say,
But Ætnas of the suffering world ye sway?
Sweet Nature, stripped of her embroidered robe,
Deplores the wasted region of the globe,
And stands a witness at truth's awful bar,
To prove you there, destroyers as ye are."

COWPER.

When the intelligence of the hard lot of Phocis reached Athens, the people were confounded and dismayed. They saw they had wronged Demosthenes, and that they had abandoned themselves to the idle promises of a traitor, who had sold his country. In a transport of terror and indignation, it was decreed that their ramparts should be repaired, the Piræus fortified, and, as was the case when war was imminent, that the sacrifice to Hercules should be performed in the city. They also resolved, as a proof of their sympathy with the sufferers, that hospitality and succour should be afforded to the Phocian exiles.

Philip heard of these manifestations of Athenian wrath, and derided them. Phocis being stripped of every means of defence, he could assume the language of dictation. In a letter sent to the Athenians, he boasted of having reduced the Phocians to slavery, charged themselves with inequitable and inconsistent conduct, in concluding a treaty with him, and then taking up arms for a people not comprehended in that treaty, and finally dared them to the combat.

The Athenians replied to this letter by a deputation to Philip; but concerning their instructions or movements nothing further is known, than that it furnished additional occa-

sion to criminate Eschines. Demosthenes says, that this orator was so eager to receive the reward of his treachery, that he hastened to join the Macedonian monarch, on learning the fall of Phocis; and he adds, that he sat at the festal board of Philip, and joined in the songs which celebrated the downfall of the friends of Athens.

A second incident occurred which excited the wrath of the Athenians against Philip. He had now taken his seat at the Amphictyonic council; but as he had been elected only by those who were under his control, he sought the acknowledgment of his election by the remaining members of the Grecian confederacy. An embassy, accompanied by Thessalian deputies, was accordingly sent to Athens for this purpose, as well as for their assent to the recent proceedings. An assembly of the people was convened to hear the letters of the envoys, and a debate ensued, in which the claim of Philip was generally opposed by the excited multitude. Eschines alone raised his voice in favour of the monarch of Macedonia, and he was silenced by a shout of loud disapprobation, and compelled to retire from the tribune. As he descended, he observed, that of the numbers, now so clamorous, there were few among them who would be disposed to manifest their courage in the field. A dark hint, and one that shows that he was acquainted with the monarch's secrets.

Demosthenes observed these ebullitions of popular wrath with concern. He saw that in present circumstances, Athens would show her wisdom by maintaining peace with Philip, and he laboured with all the might of his eloquence to convince them of their error. The reasons which he adduced were cogent and convincing; but he exerted himself in vain. Heat and impatience are very ill directors in the affairs of life; and the Athenians were not in a temper of mind to be guided by any other dictates. They decreed that the claim of Philip as an Amphictyon should not be acknowledged, that he should admit Chersobleptes of Thrace to the benefit of the treaty, and that the treaty should be modified in all those articles which were considered objectionable.

Notwithstanding appearances, peace was for the present maintained with Athens. Through the indolence of the Athenians, and the exertions of the peace party, their decree soon became a dead letter. Philip, also, was too skilful a politician to engage imprudently in a war, for the purpose of punishing a verbal insult, which effected neither his popularity nor his power. He stifled his spleen and resentment,

and after having made arrangements with his Amphictyonic colleagues, and having been flattered by a decree that his statue should be placed in the temple of Delphi, he returned into Macedonia. He carried with him, says the historian, the gratitude of his allies, the character of a pious prince, the scourge of the sacrilegious, and the avenger of Apollo.

It was, probably, at this period that Isocrates published his celebrated oration called the Panegyric, which he addressed to Philip. The purport of this oration was, to recommend the cessation of hostilities at home, and the direction of their combined forces against the Persian monarch. On a former occasion he had proposed to place Athens and Lacedæmon at the head of the confederacy; in this oration, he recommended that Philip of Macedonia should take the lead, which marks the change wrought in the political state of Greece at this period.

The prize held out to the ambition of Philip was a glittering one; but he supposed that it was not yet attainable. He kept it in view; but he saw that it would be more easy to secure it when he had extended and consolidated his own dominions, and reduced the Grecian states to absolute servility. The oration itself, unintentionally, was calculated to confirm him in this line of policy. It represented the Grecian states as almost incapable of self-defence, and as, therefore, existing by sufferance alone. The wily Philip rejoiced in this confession of weakness, and accordingly postponed his attack on Persia till he could appear as the sovereign ruler of Greece.

Under the rule of the peace party, the Athenians now sank into silence and inactivity. But it was not so with Philip. He was active in providing for the safety, improvement, and aggrandizement of his dominions. In order to secure his possessions in Thrace, he founded a city on the Hebrus, now the Maritza, and another adjacent to the eastern extremity of Mount Hæmus, which he peopled partly with Macedonians, and partly with those Phocians who had been delivered into his hands, as a punishment, for having resisted to the last. Philip, also, settled a colony in the island of Thasos, now Thaso, opposite the mouth of the river Nestus.

These occupations engaged Philip's attention during the whole of the year B. C. 344. The next year, he again took the field, and invaded Illyria. What provocation the Illyrians had given him is not known: probably his own policy alone was his motive for action, or, as they were a predatory race, and hated the Macedonians, they might have been guilty of

acts of aggression. Whatever it was, they smarted under his power. Philip ravaged the country, captured several towns, and returned to Macedonia laden with spoils.

While Philip was invading Illyria, dissensions took place in Thessaly, at the instigation of Simo and Eudicus, two citizens of Larissa, which afforded a pretext for his intervention. Accordingly when he had spoiled Illyria, Philip led his forces into Thessaly, where he now modelled the government in such a manner as to render it entirely subservient to his purposes. He removed the hostile inhabitants of Pheræ to various places, and garrisoned their citadel; and he also stationed garrisons in other towns. Knowing, however, that power gained by the sword is insecure, he strove to win the Thessalians by personal favours, by flattering their national vanity, and by conforming to their customs and manners. These arts induced the majority of the Thessalians to give ready sanction to his measures, and the influence he gained thereby rendered him still more dangerous to Greece.

The reputation of Philip was great, at this period, in many parts of Greece. The Arcadians, Argives, Messenians, Megalopolitans, regarded him with partiality; and though many of the citizens of Elea were hostile to him, there were others that took up arms in his behalf against their fellow-countrymen, over whom they prevailed. His agents were, also, actively at work in some of the states of Central Greece, and their efforts were successful in Megara and Eubœa. For the purpose of furthering his views upon this latter state, he purchased the town of Antron, which stood opposite the northern coast of Eubœa, and commanded the entrance of the Euripus.

The plan which Philip adopted to gain dominion over all the states of Greece, was, by working upon their mutual jealousies, rivalries, and antipathies, and by exciting the hopes of some, and the fears of other states. This work was carried on by the leading men of the Grecian cities, whom he seduced by bribes and fair promises. "Throughout all Greece," said Demosthenes, in one of his orations, "a contagious and fatal evil is spread, which can only be averted by the favour of the gods and the prudence of the people. The most eminent men in the republic have plunged themselves into a servitude decorated with the refined appellations of the goodwill and friendship of Philip, and of familiarity with that monarch. The other citizens and the magistrates, instead of punishing these perfidious statesmen, admire and envy their fortune." The

situation of the Peloponnesus at this time exemplified the effects of this system of the Macedonian monarch. The Athenians had in past days entered into a treaty with the Lacedæmonians to forward their designs in the peninsula, hoping thereby to establish a counterpoise to Macedonian and Theban influence. They now displayed a willingness to fulfil that treaty, but the power of Lacedæmon was held at bay by the Argives, Arcadians, and Messenians, on one side, and by the Thebans on the other: and Philip himself declared for these several republics. He commanded the Lacedæmonians to relinquish their pretensions upon Messenia, and sent troops to the Peloponnesus to enforce his command. The Athenians despatched an embassy, at the head of which was Demosthenes, to dissuade the Messenians and Argives from putting trust in Philip; but notwithstanding the embassy, and the eloquence of Demosthenes, these people remained unshaken in their adherence to Philip. Warning and counsel were alike unheeded by them, and they fell into his snares.

The Athenians were becoming every day more certain of the designs of Philip, and hence more dissatisfied with the treaty they had concluded with him. Philip saw this; and not deeming it politic to come to an open rupture with them for some time to come, he sent an embassy to Athens, at the head of which was Python, the Byzantine, to vindicate his measures, and to ratify his friendship with the Athenians. Python declared that Philip was solicitous to preserve the alliance of the Athenian state, and that he was willing to amend any objectionable article of the treaty. This latter declaration was tested by the Athenians. Two points in the treaty were, that each party should enjoy their own dominions, and that all the Greeks who were not included in the treaty should be independent, and should receive succour from the contracting parties, should they ever be invaded. The first of these stipulations was intended by the Athenians to lead to the recovery of Amphipolis. This had failed, and they now passed a decree, on the motion of Hegesippus, that the city in question still belonged to Athens, and sent an embassy to Philip to demand the surrender of the place. Philip was too fond of dominion to give up any part of his possessions on demand. He refused to admit of this new construction of the revised article, maintained that his possession was confirmed by the terms of the article, and denied that his envoys were authorized to make any such concession as that now required

at his hands. Nor did Philip retort only by argument. He banished the Athenian poet Xenoclides from Macedonia, because he had given a hospitable reception to the envoys; and it is probable that it was at this period that he put to death a citizen of Carystus in Eubœa, who was his prisoner, and the liberation of whom had been thrice solicited by the Athenians, on the ground of his being their public guest. Philip carried his resentment still farther: he refused to give up the remains of the Carystian for interment, which was considered a deep insult by the ancients.

This conduct of Philip rendered the populace of Athens still more inclined to war. The anti-peace party now, indeed, resolved to make a vigorous attack upon its opponents. They instituted proceedings against Philocrates and Eschines, who had been the most forward in bringing about the treaty with Macedonia. The prosecution of Philocrates was undertaken by Hyperides, an orator of distinguished talents; and he so forcibly convicted him of intrigue, that the accused deemed it prudent to withdraw from Athens. The task of convicting Eschines was undertaken by Demosthenes, who made his conduct in the embassy to Philip the subject of impeachment. Demosthenes accused him of having been corrupted by the gold of Philip; of betraying the interests and honour of his country; of causing the destruction of the Phocians; of giving Philip time to carry his plans into full effect by the slowness with which he performed his previous mission; of having nocturnal interviews with the monarch; of joining in banquets and songs of triumph to celebrate the ruin of the allies of Athens; of making false statements with reference to the promises and intentions of Philip; and with numerous other circumstances, which he contended were demonstrative of guilt. The danger of Eschines was great, but the power of his eloquence triumphed over that of his accuser. He was acquitted; but the majority in his favour was small, and he was indebted partly for this to Eubulus, one of his intimate friends, who exerted himself to the utmost on his behalf.

The acquittal of Eschines was a triumph for the peace, or Macedonian party at Athens; but the authority of that party hourly became weaker, through the restlessness and the encroaching spirit of Philip. While these proceedings were going forward at Athens, he had wrested Naupactus from the Achæans, and assigned it to the Ætolians; had captured three cities in the small province of Cassiopæa, and added them to the dominions of Alexander, his brother-in-law; and he was

now preparing to attack Ambracia and Leucas, two Corinthian colonies, allies of Athens. All this irritated the Athenians; but the chief incentives to their anger at this time were, his retention of the island of Halonnesus, one of the group of isles at the entrance of the Malaic gulf; and his support of the Cardians, who were grand enemies of the Chersonesan colonies. Thus insulted and injured, they began to take measures for impeding the career of the Macedonian monarch: with the nature of these measures, however, we are unacquainted.

This warlike attitude of Athens seems to have made Philip pause in his career of conquest, southward. True to his principles, he notwithstanding resolved to carry his arms eastward, where he might enlarge his dominion, and sustain a numerous army, without exciting the suspicion of the Grecian states. Before he proceeded, he attempted to reconcile himself with the Athenians, that his kingdom might be secure during his absence. For this purpose he despatched ambassadors to Athens with a letter containing his wishes for an amicable arrangement. The contents of this letter—in which he offered Halonnesus to the Athenians; to submit the dispute between the Cardians and Athenians to the decision of an umpire; and proposed a treaty for regulating the commercial intercourse between the two nations—was calculated to betray the Athenians into their wonted habits of listlessness and fancied security. So, also, was the speech of Python, who was again at the head of Philip's embassy. He expatiated long and eloquently upon the moderation and just intentions of his royal master, and upon the slanderous and malevolent conduct of those orators who were ever blackening his character. There were those in Athens, who thought that Philip's letter was reasonable, and his conduct upright; but the orators Hegesippus and Demosthenes so completely unmasked his intentions, and exposed the flimsy contents of the letter, that the newly awakened vigilance of the Athenians remained unaffected. Hegesippus, who took the lead on this occasion, concluded his oration, which takes its title from the Halonnesus, in these imperative words: "There are men among you, who think that the letter, now before us, from the king of Macedonia, is very reasonable. Such are more deserving of your hatred than Philip. By opposing you, he acquires glory and advantages, and they who manifest their zeal for him and not for their country, ought to be devoted by you to utter destruction. It only remains for me to draw up such a

reply to this 'reasonable' letter, and to the speeches of the ambassadors, as may be just and conducive to the welfare of the state." The reply which Hegesippus drew up has not reached our age; but it was doubtless unpalatable to the monarch of Macedonia.

During the discussion of the Athenians on the contents of Philip's letter, that monarch engaged in an expedition to Thrace, instigated thereto by the conduct of Chersobleptes, who had committed several acts of hostility against the Grecian colonies in the neighbourhood of the Euxine. This war lasted nearly twelve months, and the result of it was, the humiliation of Chersobleptes, who lost a portion of his dominions, was compelled to pay an annual tribute, and was surrounded by fortified towns, which overawed his frontiers. Thrace was, in effect, a province of Macedonia.

While thus engaged, circumstances occurred in the south of Thrace, which widened the breach between Philip and the Athenians. A new colony was sent by the Athenians to the Chersonesus, under the command of Diopithes, who belonged to the anti-peace party. Provoked by the protection which Philip had recently given to the Cardians, and perhaps invited by the Thracians, Diopithes invaded the maritime territory of Philip, stormed the towns of Crobyle and Tiristasis, and carried off a considerable booty, and many prisoners, to the Chersonesus. Under the influence of the same feeling, Diopithes refused ransom for the prisoners, threw the envoy, who was sent with that intent, into prison, and refused his release till he had purchased his liberty by the payment of nine talents, about 1800 pounds sterling. This conduct of Diopithes would seem to admit of no extenuation, and yet it was the cause of severe debate at Athens. Philip not being able, at the moment, to avenge himself by the sword, contented himself with making complaint, by letters, on the subject. The peace party held Diopithes up to the indignation of the people, as guilty of plunging them into a war with Philip, and insisted that he should be recalled, and the mercenaries under him disbanded, as men unworthy to bear arms.

Demosthenes, seeing that the censure of Diopithes would be at once a triumph for the partisans of Philip, and prejudicial to the state, undertook his defence, which is the subject of his oration on the Chersonesus.

In this oration, the orator first dwelt on the evils of disbanding the army, and leaving the field open to the machinations and aggressions of Philip. He then vindicated the character

of Diopithes, sarcastically reproving his hearers for leaving him without pecuniary means, which compelled him, as it had done others before him, to exact contributions wherever they could be obtained. He next attacked the actions and designs of Philip, in language unequalled by any former oration for its asperity. He contended that his conduct, ever since he had signed the treaty, had been a series of aggressions; that his feelings toward the Athenians were of unmitigated hatred; and that his fixed purpose was to complete their ruin. There was no safety to be found, he said, from the clutch of such a man as Philip, but in exertions equally vigorous and persevering as his own. "If," exclaimed the orator, "if the states of Greece should require an account of every favourable occasion which your indolence has lost—if they should say, 'Athenian, you are ever sending envoys to us to assure us that Philip is plotting the subversion of our liberties, and that we ought to guard against his designs; but, most pitiful of men! when that prince was ten months absent from his kingdom, when sickness overtook him, did you deliver Eubœa? did you recover from him any of your dominions? While you enjoy ease and health, he establishes two tyrants in Eubœa, the one facing Scyathus, the other Attica, to hold you constantly at bay. You have not endeavoured to thwart him in this, nor have you resented the outrage; but by your submission you have shown that, were Philip to die ten times, you would still remain inactive! Why, then, these embassies? these accusations of Philip? these attempts to involve us in disputes?' If this should be said by the Greeks, what answer could we give? None!"

The measures which Demosthenes recommended for adoption, in this oration, were, that an effective army should be maintained, supplies raised, abuses reformed, and corrupt ministers punished with unsparing severity.

Demosthenes triumphed. Diopithes was continued at the head of his forces in the Chersonesus, supplies were voted to him, and it was decreed that vigorous measures should be taken in other quarters.

Offence had been given to the Athenians by the towns on the Pegasæan gulf, allies of Philip. Aristodemus and Callias were now sent to chastise them, and the towns were taken and plundered. Callias also stopped all vessels bound to Macedonia, and consigned the crews to slavery.

Philip complained of these hostilities in vain: his complaints were scornfully passed over, while the public thanks

were voted to the commanders for their services. Encouraged by these proceedings, the inhabitants of the island of Peparethus made a descent on Halonnesus, and captured the Macedonian garrison. In return, Philip attacked and vanquished the Peparethians, and ruined their country.

These events tend to show that the spirit of war now ruled dominant among the Athenians. The peace party had ceased to govern; but it still retained, in a great degree, the management of public affairs. For the purpose of crushing their power altogether, the inflexible Demosthenes once more came forward. It was at this time that he uttered his third Philippic, under the bitterness and eloquence of which, the government of the peace party sank to rise no more. The orator himself became, in effect, the prime minister of the people of Athens.

Raised to this exalted station, Demosthenes, undismayed by the many adverse circumstances by which he was surrounded, concentrated all the powers of his capacious mind to work out the salvation of his country. By his wise measures, he made up for the deficiency of resources; equalized taxation, which the rich had thrown upon the shoulders of the poor; and remedied many other abuses which had crept into the state. Neither bribes, threats, nor impeachments, could turn him aside from the path of reform; he withstood, he triumphed over all.

The system of foreign policy which Demosthenes proposed to follow, was calculated to preserve the honour and safety of his country. He meditated the encircling of Athens by a barrier of friendly republics, rendering Eubœa her outwork towards the sea, Bœotia on the north, and Megara, and other neighbouring states, on the side of the Peloponnesus. He also meditated alliances with Byzantium, Perinthus, Abydos, Rhodes, Chios, and Persia; to cut off the resources of hostile powers as far as practicable; and to procure for Athens all those with which she stood in need.

The most important of these projects was that of converting Eubœa into a bulwark of Athens. Philip himself had denominated that island, "The fetters of Greece," and the possession of it by enemies, would have deprived Athens of a portion of its subsistence, and have enabled them to threaten her territory with invasion. Philip already possessed Eretria, which was advantageously situated to threaten the northern coast of Attica and Oreum, which stood at the northern end of the island. Hipparchus, Automedon, and Clitarchus,

were placed as governors over Eretria; and Philistides, a man of obnoxious character, over Oreum. The tyranny of these rulers, supported by the power of Philip, had long made them obnoxious to the citizens, and they had made some bold attempts to rid themselves of the yoke. But they were unsuccessful. Aided by the power of Philip, all opposition was put down, and their burdens made heavier. At length, the tyranny of the Macedonian faction in these cities became insupportable, and embracing the change of opinion which had been wrought in Athens, some of the citizens, at the head of whom was Callias, sent deputies to Athens to propose a new alliance. Demosthenes strenuously supported the proposition, and it was adopted. The Athenians recognized the complete independence of the Eubœan cities, and sent troops, under the command of Phocion, to secure that independence. The expedition was successful. No resistance was made; Clitarchus of Eretria, Philistides of Oreum, and other obnoxious leaders, fled, and left the people in possession of their rights.

This was a proud triumph for Demosthenes. The success was hailed with delight by the Athenians, and on the motion of Aristonicus, the thanks of the people was decreed to him in a general assembly, together with a crown of gold, which was to be presented to him in the theatre at the festival of Bacchus.

The suppression of Macedonian influence in Eubœa, must have been bitter news to Philip; but he neither sought to prevent it, nor manifested any resentment at the change. This was design. His silence served as a cloak to cover his ulterior measures from the gaze of mankind. His wish was to work in the dark, that the glory he had in view might be obtained by a sudden triumph. He knew that an invasion of southern Greece was too hazardous to be ventured at present, and his prudence taught him to take the circuitous path of safety.

Acting upon these principles, Philip changed his sphere of exertions: still seeking the extension of his own power, and the reduction of that of Athens. The Athenians chiefly relied for their supplies of corn and other necessaries, on the countries bordering on the Euxine; and an extensive commerce was therefore carried on by them with Perinthus and Selymbria, on the Propontis, and with Byzantium on the Euxine. Philip saw, that if he possessed himself of these cities, he should have the means of distressing Athens, and

of carrying into effect his projected invasion of the Persian empire. Accordingly, an army of 30,000 men was marched towards Perinthus, the first object of his attack.

While on his way to Perinthus, the monarch turned aside to take vengeance upon Diopithes, commander in the Chersonesus, who had rendered himself obnoxious to him, and who was now, B. C. 340, making an inroad into the territory of Cardia. Philip came suddenly upon his adversary, and, in a skirmish which ensued, Diopithes was slain.

Having thus satiated his revenge, Philip hastened to Perinthus. This city, the only remains of which is a miserable village called Old Erekli, from Heraclea, one of its former names, stood on a peninsula, which presented a rapid slope on the side of the land, the houses rising like an amphitheatre, one above another. It was rich by its extensive commerce, and strong, not only by its position, but by its ramparts, and the bravery of its citizens. On the approach of Philip, the Perinthians prepared for an energetic defence. Philip was as resolute in his determination to take the city. In order to drive the defenders from their ramparts, he raised towers higher than the walls, from which an unceasing shower of missiles was discharged. When the ramparts were thus rendered approachable, the battering-rams and mine were employed unceasingly in the work of their destruction. The Perinthians sustained this attack with great bravery, and inflicted severe loss upon the besiegers, as well as retarded their progress. At length, a breach was made in the wall; but the city was not yet taken. To the astonishment of the besiegers, a new rampart, reared by the Perinthians since the commencement of the siege, opposed their progress. Irritated, but not dismayed, Philip strained every nerve to surmount the difficulty thus cast in his way. He increased the number of his battering engines, and strove to wear the garrison out by one continued series of assaults. The Perinthians endeavoured to retard his progress; but their attempts were attended with much loss of life, which diminished their powers of resistance. Despair began to cast its dark shadows over them; but relief was at hand. The king of Persia, alarmed by the ambition of Philip, ordered the satraps of the provinces bordering upon the Propontis to afford them relief. His orders were promptly obeyed. Stores and provisions, with a reinforcement of troops, and money to pay them, were despatched to Perinthus by the satraps, whither they safely arrived. Byzantium, also, justly alarmed for her

own safety, sent a body of soldiers, under a skilful commander, to the aid of the Perinthians.

Still Philip pushed forward his designs upon Perinthus. His steps were not easily turned aside from the pursuit of military glory. Assault after assault was made, and the zeal of his soldiers quickened by those powerful incentives to exertion, largesses and plunder. By these means, the second rampart was at length taken. But this was of no advantage to the besiegers. Necessity, which is the mother of invention, had taught the Perinthians so to barricade and entrench the narrow streets, and to connect the houses, as to form a stronger bulwark than either of those yet taken. From these, had the besiegers ventured to attack them, the Perinthians could have dealt out destruction to them with impunity.

Philip was baffled. Other measures must be adopted before Perinthus could be taken, and Philip was not slow in the choice of new measures. He drew off a part of his forces from Perinthus, and invested Selymbria, now Selivria, by which means he closed up the only avenue whereby supplies could be thrown into the beleaguered fortress.

This brought Philip and the Athenians into collision. Viewing with alarm the dangerous project of Philip, with regard to the Hellespontine cities, the Athenians directed Leodimas, their admiral on the Propontic station, to escort twenty merchant vessels, laden with corn, for the relief of the Selymbrians. This commission, however, was to be executed by stealth, in order to avoid the appearance of hostility. But the plan proved unsuccessful. These vessels were seized by the Macedonian admiral, and, though Leodimas pleaded that their cargoes had been purchased in the Hellespont, for the inhabitants of Lemnos, they were retained as prizes. The Athenians heard of this transaction with indignation; and they sent three ambassadors, Cephisophon, Democritus, and Polycratus, to demand the restoration of the ships.

To this demand Philip returned a cold and sarcastic reply, and yet, withal, politic. "It appears to me," said he, "that you must be egregiously simple if you could imagine that I should not discover that these ships, under the pretence of conveying provisions from the Hellespont to Lemnos, were, in reality, despatched for the purpose of succouring the Selymbrians, who are besieged by me, and who are not included in the treaty of peace subsisting between us, as your allies. The instructions your officer received were not authorized by the Athenians at large; they were given by certain magistrates

and others, who are now in a private station, and who are ever striving to urge the people to commence hostilities with me. I will, however, release the ships, and for the future, if you will not allow your leaders to act upon this pernicious system of politics, but will reprimand and restrain them, I also will strive to preserve peace."

The allusions which this letter contained to Demosthenes and his party, served to increase the conviction in the mind of that great orator, that Philip projected the subversion of Grecian liberty. Under this impression, and urged by the critical state of public affairs, he uttered the harangue known as the fourth Philippic.

In this oration, Demosthenes repeated many of his former opinions and arguments. He severely reprobated the carelessness, vacillation, and imprudence of the Athenians, and called upon them to make a thorough reform in the state. He then strove, with consummate art, to excite against Philip all the passions of his hearers; appealing to their pride and apprehensions, and representing him as their implacable foe. Every blow he aimed, said the orator, was in reality against the Athenian state. "No one," he exclaimed, "can imagine that the desires of Philip are limited to the possession of some contemptible villages in Thrace; that for such conquests he exposes himself to the inclemency of the seasons, the severest labours, and the greatest perils. Nor can any one imagine that he does not covet the ports, arsenals, revenues, situation, and the magnificence of Athens; that he will disdain all these advantages, and leave you to enjoy them in quiet, while he is contented to live in frost and snow in a Thracian cellar, and to feed upon the rye and millet of Thrace. It is Athens which Philip has ever in view, let him turn his arms to whatever quarter he may." "It was not to be wondered at," continued the orator, "that Philip should cherish a deadly hatred against their city. The ground on which it stood, its very gods, and, above all, its free and popular constitution, which afforded a refuge to those who were desirous of shaking off his fetters, were the causes of his hatred."

Demosthenes at length gained his point. Excited by his eloquence, the Athenians decreed that an attempt should be made to save the cities of the Propontis from the grasp of Philip. The passing of this decree was probably hastened by the circumstance that the Byzantines, who saw themselves threatened by Philip, at this time sent an envoy to Athens to implore assistance. A fleet was now sent, in compliance with

this decree, to the succour of the Hellespontine cities, under the command of Chares.

The sagacious Philip saw the danger to which he was exposed, and he determined to try whether the Athenians might not be diverted from their present purpose, by complaint, remonstrance, and menace. In such strains, he penned a letter to them, which has been pronounced one of the most masterly state papers produced in any age or country, It aggravated all the grievances which he was justified in resenting; placed the conduct of his opponents in the most unfavourable light; and sunk every circumstance which might tend to injure his own cause. The arguments contained in the letter were subtle, and the strain calm, firm, and dignified, with an occasional touch of sly sarcastic humour. The reasonings adduced by Philip were so cogent, and the facts so startling, that it rendered any attempt to answer it a task of no small difficulty. It fell to the lot of Demosthenes to make the reply, and passing the charges of Philip over in silence, he declaimed with such irresistible eloquence, that the Athenians resolved to persist in their efforts to rescue the Hellespontine cities from the monarch of Macedonia.

In the mean time, B. C. 339, Philip had changed his sphere of action. Not being able to make any further progress in the capture of Perinthus, he had converted the siege into a blockade, and had marched with the greater portion of his army to attack Byzantium. The approach of Chares with the Athenian fleet, also, might contribute to make Philip adopt this measure. The character of this leader was not calculated to inspire confidence, either in those whom he led, or those he was sent to aid. This was soon experienced. Many towns, from a feeling of suspicion, refused to let him enter their ports; and, thus rejected, he justified their suspicions, by his exactions and tyranny over those who had no power to resist him. Chares at length appeared before Byzantium, and being refused entrance there, he resolved to attack the Macedonian fleet, then lying off Chalcedon, on the Asiatic coast, hoping to gain a victory, and thereby restore his waning reputation. Chares was unsuccessful. A severe sea fight took place, and he was defeated, with the loss of several vessels.

It was under these conflicting circumstances that Philip approached Byzantium. This city was situated on the site now occupied by the southern portion of Constantinople. It was strong, both by nature and art. On three sides, it was covered by the sea, while on the side of the land it was de-

fended by lofty walls, having towers at a short distance from each other, and a wide and deep moat. Philip made approaches unassailed by the Byzantines. This inspired him with confidence. Impatient to take the city, he resolved to make an effort to carry it by sudden escalade. The season of night, amid the din of a tempest, was chosen for this purpose, and the enterprise was committed to a band of his bravest soldiers. Several of these succeeded in gaining the summit of the rampart unobserved by the garrison, and success seemed certain; but at this moment, the Byzantines were aroused to a sense of their danger by the baying of the mastiffs kept in the towers, and hastily seizing their weapons, they rushed to meet their foes. They contested like men who had every thing dear in life to lose; and though the Macedonians long persevered, they were finally compelled to make a retreat. Philip now resorted to the battering-ram and mine, neither of which availed him in the capture of this city.

Philip was thwarted in his designs by the Athenians. When news was first brought to them that the Byzantines, with the other cities, had refused admittance to Chares, they were indignant at the supposed insult offered to them, and would probably have sunk again into their former inertness, had not Phocion prevented them. It was not, he said, the Byzantines, who were to blame, but themselves, in making choice of such a general as Chares—a general in whom they could place no confidence, which was the reason why the Athenians were looked upon with a jealous eye, by a people who could not be saved without them. This reasoning prevailed; the people decreed that a fresh armament should be sent to the Propontis, and that the conduct of it should be given to Phocion himself.

According to this decree, a formidable squadron was raised, consisting of 120 sail, and the Athenian general hastened with this force to Byzantium. The Byzantines received Phocion with open arms; and his zeal, activity, and talent, combined with the aid he brought, inspired them with new spirit. They defeated the troops of Philip in several encounters; and the monarch, at length, despairing of accomplishing his purpose, raised the siege, and proceeded to the pursuit of other conquests.*

* Diodorus affirms, that Philip signed a treaty of peace with the Hellespontine cities and the Athenians. But this is doubtful, as no mention is made of it in after years. The next act of Phocion, indeed, as recorded in the succeeding paragraph, refutes the assertion.

Having thus frustrated the designs of the Macedonian monarch, Phocion sailed from Byzantium amidst the loud plaudits of the people. In his passage homeward, he took some vessels belonging to the enemy, frustrated a design formed by the Macedonians against Sestes, repressed the incursions of the Cardians into the Chersonesus, recovered some towns on the coast of Thrace, and levied contributions. In one of his enterprises, he received a wound, which obliged him to lead his troops back to Athens sooner than he had intended.

In gratitude for the assistance rendered them by the Athenians, the citizens of Byzantium and Perinthus passed the following decree: "In consideration that the Athenians have always been friendly to the Byzantines, and to the Perinthians, their kinsmen and allies; and that they succoured us when Philip of Macedonia invaded and ravaged our territories with fire and sword, designing our utter ruin; we, the people of Byzantium and Perinthus, have resolved to give to the Athenians the privilege of citizenship in our states, the right of intermarriage, and of purchasing lands and houses, precedence in all public meetings, festivals, and religious ceremonies, and an exemption from all municipal charges to those residing in our cities. There shall, moreover, be erected in the port of Byzantium, three statues, each sixteen cubits high, representing the Byzantines and Perinthians crowning the Athenian people: and embassies shall be sent to the general assemblies of Greece, the Olympic, Isthmian, Nemæan, and Pythian, where solemn proclamation shall be made of the crown decreed by us to the people of Athens; that all the Greeks may know of the magnanimity of the Athenians, and the gratitude of the Byzantines and Perinthians.

The inhabitants of the Chersonesus, though they had not felt the scourge of war in an equal degree, passed a similar decree; "The inhabitants of Sestus, Eleus, Abydos, and Alepo Connessus," runs their decree, "give to the people and senate of Athens a crown of gold of sixty talents, and erect two altars to their honour, on account of their having, by the most glorious of all benefactions, rescued the Chersonesites from Philip, and restored them to the possession of their country, their laws, their liberties, and their temples: an act of beneficence they will fix eternally in their memories, and which they will ever be ready to repay to the utmost of their power."

After Philip had been baffled in his attempts upon the Hellespontine cities, he directed his attention to Western Scythia, a peninsula situated on the lower part of the Ister, near the

Euxine. This country was inhabited by a rude tribe, of which Atheas was the sovereign. While Philip was engaged in the siege of Perinthus, the dominions of Atheas were invaded by the king of the Istrians, and he sought the aid of the Macedonian monarch, with the tempting offer of the succession to the crown. Philip sent a body of troops to succour the Scythians; but the death of the Istrian monarch occasioned the retreat of his army, and Atheas, thus freed from danger, dismissed the Macedonian forces without payment, and disavowed the proceedings of his ambassadors. Philip despatched an embassy to Atheas, to claim the payment of the Macedonian auxiliaries, and the expenses incurred by their march. The envoys found the Scythian monarch in a stable, employed in currying his horse, which he was wont to do in times of peace. Having learned their errand, he answered, that the inclement sky and sterile soil of Scythia scarcely afforded the Scythians needful food; and that, therefore, having no treasures worth Philip's acceptance, he thought it better not to offer him any thing. He added, in defiance, that the Scythians were more remarkable for hardy bodies and valiant minds than for riches.

Thus insulted, Philip waited only for the hour of revenge, and he marched from Byzantium to Scythia to gratify that feeling. He might conceive, also, that his absence in a remote country would tend to lull the fears and suspicions of the Greeks, and that a triumph in Scythia would efface the remembrance of his failure on the Propontis.

While Philip was either on his way to Scythia, or after he had reached the banks of the Ister, he was joined by his son Alexander. This young prince, who was now only sixteen years of age, had been left as regent of the kingdom during his father's absence, and proved himself a son worthy of the sire. One of the Thracian tribes, the Medareans, having revolted, he defeated them, captured their city, expelled the inhabitants, planted a colony therein, and commemorated his achievement by giving to the city a name adapted from his own, Alexandropolis.

During his march, Philip resorted to a stratagem, in order to lull the fears of the Scythian monarch, and therefore to put him off his guard. He despatched a herald to him, who was instructed to make amicable professions, to announce Philip's approach, and to state that the purpose of his coming was to erect, at the mouth of the Ister, a brazen statue of Hercules, which he had vowed to raise in honour of the divine hero,

while engaged in the siege of Byzantium. The stratagem was of too flimsy a nature not to be penetrated by Atheas; yet, without seeming to perceive it, he replied, that the statue might be sent to him. If that were done, he said, he would place it on the chosen spot, and ensure its remaining there inviolate; but if it were set up against his will, the Scythians would most probably pull it down, and convert it into the points of darts and spears. Thus foiled, Philip threw off the mask, and entered Scythia as an enemy to Atheas.

It is not known how long Philip was engaged in this expedition. He appears, however, to have met with many difficulties. The bravery of the rude Scythians for some time counterbalanced the skill of their invaders; but military science finally prevailed. After a severe struggle, with much loss on both sides, Philip triumphed in a battle, in which each party brought into the field the whole of its disposable force, and having plundered the country of 20,000 of the youth of both sexes, destined to be sold for slaves, with immense herds of cattle, and 20,000 horses, he returned towards Macedonia. He had attained his two main objects in the expedition—revenge, and the recovery of military reputation.

The road which Philip took was through the country of the Triballi, which extended between the mountains and the river Ister, and led to the central pass of Hæmus.* The Triballi were a people almost as rude as the Scythians, and Philip was in great danger from them. At first they let him pass quietly onward; but as soon as his army, encumbered by the captives and cattle, were entangled amidst the defiles, they demanded a portion of the booty, as the price of being allowed to pass through their territories. Philip refused, and a combat ensued, in which he was dangerously wounded. A shaft pierced his thigh with such force as to kill the horse on which he rode, and had not Alexander covered him with his shield as he lay on the ground with the slain beast, till he could be removed by his soldiers, it is probable he would have perished. The Macedonians conquered, and succeeded in passing through the defiles; but the booty which had cost Philip such a struggle to obtain, fell into the possession of the Triballi.

The Athenians considered the siege of Byzantium as an open declaration of war; and not being deceived by Philip's

* The country which the Triballi inhabited is now called Bulgaria. Herodotus called it the largest country in the world, except the country bordering on the Danube.

progress into Western Scythia, they still prepared for the strife. By the successful result of the expedition to Eubœa, Athens was rendered secure on her eastern maritime boundary, and it was further strengthened by the alliance of the republic of Megara. These were events of importance; but they would have been trivial, in comparison, had a plan formed by Demosthenes been carried into effect. Determined to check the progress of Philip, he journeyed into Acarnania and Peloponnesus, to negotiate with the states in those quarters. Having set this treaty on foot, he intrusted the completion of it to Callias of Colchis, who, on his return to Athens, informed the assembled people, that he had succeeded in prevailing upon the Peloponnesians and others to join in a confederacy against the Macedonian monarch. He likewise stated, that the sum already voted for carrying on the war was 100 talents, (about 20,000*l.*) sixty of which were to be paid by the Achæans and Megarians, and forty by the Eubœan cities. Other republics, he said, would probably supply their quota; and he added, that he had been engaged in some secret affairs, beneficial to Athens, known only at present to Demosthenes and a few Athenians. Demosthenes confirmed this intelligence, and, after having eulogized the conduct of Callias, he declared that he himself had aroused the whole of the Peloponnesians and Acarnanians against Philip. Demosthenes asserted, also, that the sums they had voted would provide an armament of 100 ships of war, 10,000 infantry, and 1000 cavalry; besides which, the Peloponnesians and Acarnanians would supply each 2000 native heavy armed foot. The command of these, he said, was confided to the Athenians; and he added, that deputies from the various republics would meet on an early day at Athens.

Demosthenes was not in the field alone. The dread of Philip, the influence of his all potent gold, and the jealousy and doubt of each other, combined with a variety of circumstances incident to all extensive coalitions, destroyed the confederacy while yet in its infancy. The congress never assembled, and consequently, neither the promised funds nor the promised troops were forthcoming.

Notwithstanding, Philip was exposed to the hostilities of the Athenians. Animated by Demosthenes, they were now averse to terms of amity with him, and all attempts at negotiation were vain. Their superiority at sea was such, that they entirely destroyed the commerce of Macedonia. No vessel could enter or depart, without being intercepted by

Athenian cruisers, by which the Macedonians not only sustained loss from the suspension of the traffic in their productions, but suffered from their inability to import the necessaries of life. At the same time, the Athenians were abundantly supplied with provisions, at almost unprecedented low prices.

This was an alarming state of affairs for Macedonia; and so Philip seems to have considered it, for he resorted to a measure of the basest kind, in order to deliver himself from the emergency. It is said, that he determined to subvert, by one blow, the maritime ascendancy of Athens, and that blow was to be struck by the hand of an incendiary. The miscreant who engaged to perform this deed was one Antiphon, who had been expelled from Athens for having exercised the functions of a citizen without a legal right, which act at all times involved that punishment. Maddened by his disgrace, Antiphon proceeded to the court of Philip, and offered his services to the monarch, to set fire to the naval arsenals of Athens. Philip sanctioned his atrocious project, and Antiphon returned to Athens to watch his opportunity of carrying it into effect. He lived for some time concealed in the Piræus; but with all his care, his return was divulged, and he was obliged to flee from thence. He was, however, sought for and discovered, and brought to trial before the people. In the first instance, he was acquitted, Demosthenes having, in the eagerness of his search for him, outstepped the bounds prescribed by law, of which Eschines, who pleaded for Antiphon, artfully availed himself. Still Demosthenes persisted in the prosecution, and having carried the cause to the court of Areopagus, that court ordered Antiphon to be again arrested. The exile was tried a second time, and being put to the torture, the practice of those dark ages, and of far later times, he made a confession of his crimes, and was condemned to death.

The conviction of Antiphon involved Eschines in disgrace. He had been appointed by the people to act as syndic in the temple of Delos, an appointment at once honourable and lucrative. The ratification of this appointment rested with the court of Areopagus, and that court set aside the nomination, and substituted Hyperides, a distinguished orator of the anti-peace party, with this humiliating remark, that Hyperides was more worthy to speak for the republic than Eschines.

That Eschines was a traitor in the camp, if not already

made manifest, will be shown by subsequent events. While Philip was warring in the wilds of Scythia, Eschines was elected, in conjunction with Diagnetus, Midias, and Thrasicles, who were also of the Macedonian faction, as one of the Athenian deputies to the Amphictyonic council. This was a fatal election for the Athenians; for it led to the Amphissian, or third sacred war, and to the triumph of Philip over the Grecian states, a consummation he had so long devoutly wished, and had employed all the energies of his genius to obtain.

As soon as Eschines and his colleagues had joined the rest of the Amphictyons at Delphi, Diagnetus, Thrasicles, and Midias, were, either by chance or collusion, prevented from taking a share in the public council, whereby the whole representation of Athens centred in Eschines. This was the hinge on which the whole project of Philip turned. Through his machinations, as soon as the council met, a question was mooted by Eschines, whether the Locrians of Amphissa had not been guilty of sacrilege in ploughing the fields of Cyrrha, in the neighbourhood of the temple at Delphi, and which were distinctly visible where the council held its sittings. The wily orator, with impassioned voice and gestures, pointed out to the council the re-cultivated land; dwelt on the potency and sanctity of the decree which consigned them to perpetual desolation; touched upon every topic which could excite superstitious dread in the minds of his hearers; and declared that, whatever might be the decision of the council, he would support the rights of the god with his entire soul, body, property, and power, and would thus save himself, his family, and his country, from being participators in the sacrileges of the Amphissians.

The demon of war was raised by the eloquence of Eschines. Many of the members were ignorant and unreflecting men, who, instead of looking forward to results, searching for evidence, administering justice in a conciliatory spirit, and giving the Amphissians an opportunity for vindication or apology, rushed headlong into the commission of a gross outrage. At the close of a stormy debate, it was decreed, that all Delphians above the age of sixteen should assemble early the next morning, at an appointed place; that the Amphictyonic council should be on the spot; and that if any were absent, the state to which that member belonged should be excluded from the temple, as accomplices in the sacrilege.

The work of destruction commenced early on the morrow.

Under the sanction of this unwise council, the tumultuary levy destroyed the harbour, burned the houses and other buildings, and ravaged the interdicted territory. The Amphissians, however, were not disposed to suffer this loss patiently. Hastily mustering their troops, they attacked and put the Delphians and Amphictyons to flight, and took some of the council prisoners.

Cottyphus, the president of the council, convened a general assembly, on the morrow, to deliberate on the measures which ought now to be adopted. It was decreed by this council, that a written accusation should be prepared for bringing the Amphissians to justice, and that this bill should be debated on previously to the next Amphictyonic session, which was to be held at Thermopylæ, after which the council was prorogued.

As soon as Eschines returned to Athens, he exerted all his eloquence to procure the concurrence of the Athenians with the resolution passed by the council. Demosthenes opposed the measure, urging that it would bring an Amphictyonic war into the territory of Athens. His opposition was vain: partly from religious feelings, and partly, perhaps, from the misrepresentations of Eschines with reference to the hostile designs of the Amphissians, the people decided in favour of the proposition made by Eschines. Notwithstanding, Demosthenes obtained a decree from the senate, that the deputies should repair to Delphi and Thermopylæ at the times appointed by their forefathers; which decree was confirmed by the popular assembly, and virtually rescinded the vote for war against the Amphissians. To render this more effectual, Demosthenes subjoined a clause which directed that the deputies should have no intercourse with the extraordinary council, which was a complete triumph over Eschines.

The extraordinary council at length assembled. To it Athens sent no representative, and their example was followed by Thebes. All the other states sent members, and these decreed that war should be made upon Amphissa, and nominated Coltyphus general of the Amphictyonic army.

The Amphissians warded off the blow some time, by apparently submitting to the following terms, as dictated by the council: that a fine should be paid to Apollo within a given time; that those who were most deeply implicated in impious guilt should be banished; and that those who had been exiled on account of their opposition to the sacrilegious acts of their fellow-citizens should be recalled. As soon, however, as an

opportunity offered, the Amphissians reoccupied the lands, refused to pay the fine, recalled those who had been banished, and banished those who had been recalled.

Although thus braved, the council acted with greater moderation during the next sessions. It simply decreed, that the consecrated land should be marked out by pillars, and that the Amphissians should be warned to desist from its occupation. But this was of no avail. Encouraged by the hope of receiving succour from Athens and Thebes, the Amphissians attacked the deputies who came to establish the boundary, and prevented them from carrying their design into effect.

The council now proceeded to prepare for war. It issued summonses to the various states to furnish their quota of troops to the Amphictyonic army. The demand, however, was not readily obeyed. Some of the states refused, and others neglected to comply. Here was a favourable opportunity for the partisans of Philip to urge the necessity of seeking his aid. The opportunity was improved. The Thessalian deputies pleaded, that, unless impiety and violence were to be committed with impunity, Philip must be constituted Amphictyonic general, or the defaulters must be fined, and a mercenary army hired at an enormous expense. His devotion to the gods, they said, was well known; for already he had distinguished himself as the scourge of the sacrilegious, and there could be no doubt that he would gladly stand forward again as the champion of religion! These fallacious arguments prevailed. The council decreed that the Macedonian monarch should be solicited to succour Apollo and themselves from the sacrilegious hands of the Amphissians. At the same time, Philip was appointed general-in-chief of the Amphictyonic forces.

It required no arguments to persuade Philip to accept this invitation; he gladly furnished the desired aid, and took the proffered command. His first act was, to issue a summons to the Amphictyonic states, directing them to furnish their contingents, and to send them to him in Phocis, duly armed, with provisions for forty days. The states, awed by his power, obeyed. Even Thebes, which had declined to take the field, furnished its quota of troops, the command of which was given to Proxenus. Athens, however, still proudly kept aloof. No requisition, indeed, appears to have been sent; and if it had, it would doubtless have been useless, for the war party now ruled dominant in that state. So decided was their opposition

to Philip, that 10,000 mercenaries were despatched to succour the Amphissians.

Ancient historians have not related the manner of the proceedings against the Amphissians; their reduction to submission alone is recorded, without reference to the period of its occurrence, or the terms granted to them when subdued.

Aware of the designs of Philip, his presence in Phocis with a formidable army excited the alarm of the Athenians. This alarm was heightened by the sudden death of several persons who at this period had been initiated in the mysteries of Ceres. The partisans of Philip were suspected, and to justify themselves, they moved that the oracle should be consulted. Demosthenes opposed this proposition. Convinced that the gold of Philip would guide the response, he uttered this sententious and emphatic expression: "The Pythia Philippizes;" which being well understood by the people, the motion for consulting Apollo was negatived. But notwithstanding the Athenians forbore to place confidence in the fallacious oracle, they resorted to a measure which exhibits the extent of their terror. A decree was passed by the senate, and sanctioned by the people, which charged Philip with laying waste the cities in the vicinity of Attica, setting the treaty at nought, and preparing to invade Attica, in violation of his pledge; and yet concluded by proposing that a herald should be sent to entreat him to preserve the harmony existing between the two states, or to grant a truce, in order that there might be time for deliberation.

Philip did not deign to reply to this "strange mixture of invective and solicitation;" and a few weeks afterwards, another decree was passed, which stated that Philip was endeavouring to alienate the Thebans; that he was ready to march towards the frontier of Attica; and that deputies should, therefore, be despatched to solicit a truce. Philip now replied, in a cold, calculating, and yet half friendly tone. "I am aware," said he, "how you have been affected towards me, and how earnestly you have endeavoured to gain the Thessalians, Thebans, and the rest of the Bœotians, over to your side. Now, having discovered that these people will not submit to your direction, you change your course, and send heralds and deputies to remind me of treaties, and to desire a truce; and this without my having inflicted on you any injury. Notwithstanding, I am willing to accede to your wishes, and to grant the cessation requested, if you will expel those orators, who mislead you, from your city, and will

brand them with the ignominy they deserve. So may you prosper."

When Philip penned this letter, he was under the impression that he had secured the Theban power on his side. After long wavering upon which side they should declare, whether for Philip or the Athenians, to the monarch's great joy, they at length declared for him, which he acknowledged in a letter, wherein he half reproves them for their past hesitation, and half commends them for their determination. "I apprehended," said he, "that you were disposed to fulfil the hopes, and to enter into the views of the Athenians; but I rejoice to find that you wish to cultivate peace with me. I commend your conduct, because it ensures your own safety, and manifests good-will towards me. I trust that you will derive much advantage from preserving this bond of union. May you prosper!"

The tardy and reluctant profession of friendship made by the Thebans did not augur well for its continuance. The sharpsighted policy of Philip saw this, and he provided against the consequences of their retraction. On the demolition of the Phocian cities, after the sacred war, Elatea, the second in importance, was only dismantled. This city (now a ruined village, called Elephta) stood upon an eminence, on the left bank of the Cephisus. Philip seized this city, restored its fortifications, and placed therein a garrison. His communications with Thessaly and Macedonia were now secured. By his position, also, he overawed the whole of southern Greece: in his rear, he commanded the straits of Thermopylæ; on each side, the road to Delphi at the Euripus; and in his front, the cities of Thebes and Athens. Thus his prey was placed within his reach, and it only required prudence, on his part, to enable him to sieze it.

When the courier arrived at Athens with the intelligence that Philip had secured Elatea, the prytanes were seated at supper, and the citizens were enjoying the repose of the evening. Confusion and terror spread through the city, and prevailed during the night. At dawn, the senators were summoned to the usual place of assembling, where the people were already congregated. On their arrival, the herald proclaimed, in the customary form, that whoever desired to speak should come forward. All were silent. The proclamation was reiterated. Still all were silent. At length, Demosthenes, like a lion roused from his lair, ascended the rostrum. He first disabused the public mind of the opinion entertained,

that the seizure of Elatea indicated concert between Philip and Thebes; if such had been the case, he said, Philip would have been on the very frontier of Attica, and not at Elatea. He then noticed the measures which ought to be taken, under the present alarming circumstances. He warned them that, if they persisted in resenting the injuries which they had received from the Thebans, if they even regarded them with suspicion, they would further the schemes of Philip, and Athens would be exposed to the attack of their combined power. He then disclosed the means by which the danger might be averted. He recommended, that anxiety should only be exhibited for the Thebans, over whom peril more directly impended; that every man capable of bearing arms should instantly be sent to Eleusis, in order to keep up the spirits of their partizans in Thebes; that ten ambassadors should be nominated to negotiate an alliance with Thebes; and that nothing should be required of the Thebans in the present state of affairs. The hum of applause was heard throughout the assembly, and Demosthenes, taking advantage of it, brought forward a decree, which summed up and reprobated the encroachments of Philip, and announced the measures resolved upon to place a curb upon his ambition.

This decree, which received the sanction of the assembly, read thus: "Whereas, in times past, Philip, king of Macedonia, has violated a treaty, concluded between him and the Athenians, regardless of oaths, and of every thing held sacred in Greece; has dishonestly possessed himself of towns, and has reduced some of our allies to slavery: and whereas, of late, he has seized upon Grecian cities; placed garrisons in some, and subverted their constitutions; razed some to the ground, and enslaved the inhabitants; and in others, expelling the citizens, and giving their abodes, temples, and tombs, to barbarians, in conformity to his country and character, using his present fortunes insolently, and forgetful that he has risen to greatness from a mean origin: and whereas, while the Athenians beheld him making himself master of towns belonging to them among barbarians, they passed over acts of injustice which concerned only themselves; but now that they see him seizing some Grecian cities, insulting some, and destroying others, they would deem themselves criminal, and unworthy of liberty, if they were to look on while Greece is enslaved. Therefore, offering up prayers and sacrifices to the gods and heroes, protectors of the cities and lands of Athens, it is decreed, that a fleet, consisting of two hundred

vessels, should be sent to sea; that the commander-in-chief, and the commander of the cavalry, shall lead their forces to Eleusis; and that ambassadors shall be sent to the states of Greece, but first to Thebes, to exhort them to defend their own liberty, and that of the other Greeks, and to assure them that the people of Athens will aid them with all their strength, wealth, and weapons, deeming it dishonourable for Greeks to submit to the rule of a foreigner; that assurances be given to the Thebans, that the Athenians look upon them as kinsmen and countrymen, that they bear in mind the good offices rendered by their forefathers to the forefathers of the Thebans, in restoring their hereditary dominions to the descendant of Hercules, and in many other instances, which bear witness to their friendship; and that, therefore, on this occasion, the Athenians will not desert the cause of the Thebans, and of the other Greeks, but will be ready to enter into an alliance with them, offensive and defensive, cemented by allowing intermarriages among individuals, and by reciprocal oaths."

Five ambassadors were chosen by the assembly to proceed to Thebes with these proposals; namely, Demosthenes, Hyperides, Mnesithides, Democrates, and Callaeschrus. When they arrived at Thebes, they found that ambassadors from Philip, the Thessalians, and others of his confederates, were already in that city. The Macedonian envoys, as the representatives of an ally, had the precedence in being admitted to an audience. Python was their spokesman, and this celebrated orator used all his powers of eloquence, which he seconded with large promises of reward, to allure his hearers over to the side of his master. He extolled Philip; inveighed against Athens, and artfully enumerated the wrongs which the Thebans had received from Athens. He represented, also, the benefit they might reap from joining with Philip to invade Attica. By doing so, they would share in the spoils of the country—its cattle, slaves, and wealth; while, on the contrary, by joining in a league with the Athenians, Bœotia would become the seat of war, and would alone suffer its calamities. He concluded by requesting that the Thebans would either join their forces with those of Philip, or permit him to pass through their territories into Attica.

History has not preserved the speech made by Demosthenes in reply to Python. From the result of it, however, it may be supposed to have been a masterpiece of eloquence. Though he addressed auditors whose minds were clouded with prejudices, and who were tempted and menaced by a potent

monarch, as by a magic spell, he gained a triumphant influence over them. His nervous eloquence, rushing into their souls like an impetuous wind, rekindled there so ardent a zeal for their country, and so mighty a passion for liberty, that, banishing every idea of fear, prudence, or ingratitude, they accepted the proffered alliance of the Athenians, and passed a decree inviting them to send their forces to the assistance of Thebes. Their enthusiasm carried them even beyond this. They admitted the Athenian succours into their city, thereby intrusting them, as Demosthenes boasted, with their wives and children, and all that was dear to them. Such is the power which eloquence has over the minds of men, when it is impregnated with zeal for the public welfare.

By this declaration of the Thebans, the system of alliance which Demosthenes had projected was matured. Philip had thereby cause to tremble. The Bœotian cities alone furnished from 12,000 to 14,000 heavy-armed soldiers; the Athenian troops equalled those of the Thebans; and about 17,000 mercenary troops, besides some natives, were to be contributed by Eubœa, Megara, Achaia, Corinth, Corcyra, Leucadia, and Acarnania. Philip contemplated this array of the sons of Greece with considerable alarm, and he was unwilling to meet them in a decisive encounter, without first trying milder means. Dropping his dictatorial tone, therefore, he adopted the language of the flatterer and the humble-minded, and sent ambassadors to negotiate a peace. Phocion and others were anxious that his overtures should be favourably received; but the Athenians were not disposed for peace. Their temples were thrown open, sacrifices were offered, religious processions were made, and the sound of war was heard on every side. So popular was Demosthenes at this period, that the public assembly voted to him another crown, in acknowledgment of his services.

Foiled in his attempt to negotiate peace with the Athenians, Philip again turned to the Thebans. By his ambassadors, he made known to them his wish to avoid hostilities; and had not Demosthenes exerted all the powers of his eloquence to prevent it, it is probable that the popular cry would have been for peace. Reanimated by his exertions, however, they persisted in their hostility.

An appeal to the sword was now inevitable; and

> The Macedonian vulture mark'd his time,
> By the dire scent of Chæronea lured,
> And, fierce descending, seized his hapless prey.—THOMSON.

Philip crossed the Bœotian frontier, and advanced to Chæronea, where the Athenian forces then were, resolving to give battle. He took up his station within sight of a temple dedicated to Hercules, his supposed ancestor, and which was said to have been pointed out, by ancient and modern oracles, as fated to become the scene of events calamitous to Greece. But this was doubtless the result of policy; for in those dark ages, omens were created by the crafty to impose upon the vulgar, in order to raise or depress the courage of adverse hosts. Hence it was that Demosthenes, on this occasion, also, asserted that the Pythian "Philippized," and exhorted the Thebans to remember their Epaminondas, and the Athenians their Pericles, who considered these oracles in the light of scarecrows, and consulted reason alone.

The forces of Philip consisted of 32,000 men, while that of his antagonists was somewhat less than 30,000, many of their forces not yet having arrived. The valour of the troops may be pronounced equal; but the merit of the chiefs was widely different. Philip in himself was a host; for he was the most renowned captain of his day. Phocion, indeed, might have successfully contended with him; but Phocion was opposed to the war, and had, therefore, been excluded from the command. The consequence was, that the Athenian confederates had no competent commander. Theagenes, an officer of moderate talent, was at the head of the Thebans; and among the Athenian leaders were Chares, of whom no honourable mention has been made, and Stratocles and Lysicles, men who had acquired no military reputation, and the latter of whom was distinguished only for his rash daring. It was probably this deficiency of skilful officers, on the part of the confederates, that lured Philip to the field of battle.

Notwithstanding the stake ventured upon, this cast of the die deeply concerned Philip. If he failed, the fame he had acquired for feats of arms, during a busy and turbulent life, would be eclipsed, and his throne would be in danger from the desertion of his allies and the revival of his foes. One sturdy monitor pointed this out to him. Shortly before the contest, Diogenes is said to have wandered into his camp, and to have been taken into Philip's presence, who inquired whether he came in the character of a spy. "Yes," replied the philosopher, "I watch your insatiable ambition, and that imprudence which prompts you wantonly to hazard your crown and life upon the issue of a single hour in the field of battle." But Philip did not regard advice in this matter.

As soon as the hostile legions came within view of each other, they prepared for the struggle. Philip placed himself at the head of the right wing, which was opposed to the Athenians, while his left wing was led by Alexander, and was destined to cope with the Thebans, in whose front stood the division of valiant youths known by the name of the Sacred Band. The centre of each army was composed of auxiliaries.

The battle soon began. For a long time, the contest remained doubtful; the combatants slaughtering each other with fearful energy. At length, Alexander, animated with a desire to signalize himself, rushed upon the Sacred Band, and, after a long and vigorous resistance, routed them. At the same time, Philip charged the Athenians, and for a moment caused them to retreat; but they soon resumed their courage, regained their post, and retorted the charge with so much vigour, that they broke a part of the enemy's right and centre, and drove it before them. Had this advantage been seconded by skill, the laurel of victory would have probably been worn by the Athenians; but instead of assailing the phalanx in flank, at the head of which was Philip, and which was kept in reserve to remedy any disorder which might occur, Lysicles, hurried on by rash confidence, exclaimed, "Follow them up, my countrymen, and let us drive them into Macedonia." The keen eye of Philip saw the error. Watching the confused mass hurrying after the flying foe, he said to his officers, "The Athenians know not how to conquer," and then bore down upon them with the phalanx. The attack was irresistible. The Athenian wing was penetrated, and passing from extreme presumption to extreme terror, each individual sought safety in flight. Demosthenes was among the foremost to quit the field, and his political antagonists have accused him of throwing away his shield, which he had inscribed "to good fortune" in characters of gold, and of having prayed for mercy to a bramble, which intercepted his retreat, and which fear transformed into a ruthless pursuer.

The cause of the confederates was lost: Greece was now prostrate at the feet of Philip. More than 1000 Athenians were left upon the field of battle, and above 2000 taken prisoners, among whom was Demades, the orator. The loss was equally severe on the side of the Thebans. This battle was fought B. C. 338.

The conduct of Philip, after the victory, exhibits a fearful picture of human depravity, and shows, that it is easier to

overcome an enemy in the field of battle, than to gain the mastery over that rebel, self. Under the double influence of victory and intoxication, he visited the field of battle with his officers, where he exulted over the dead, and derided the misfortunes of the living. In derision, he caused the decree of Demosthenes to be sung in his presence. A secret horror chilled every breast, but none dared to utter his sentiments except Demades, the Athenian orator. "Fortune, O king," said his reprover, "having put it into your power to be an Agamemnon, are you not ashamed to act the part of Thersites?" Diodorus says, that this rebuke produced an instant effect: Philip cast away his chaplet of flowers, returned with an altered mind to his tent, and rewarded Demades, by restoring him to liberty, and treating him as a friend. It is more probable, however, that he sought to redeem his error, when the fumes of his debauch were evaporated, and his reason left unclouded; for he might fear that such conduct would shake the fidelity of his friends, and reanimate his vanquished foes. An insult offered to the dead, was among the Greeks, a crime of no ordinary magnitude, and one which they would be bound to revenge. Policy, therefore, would teach Philip to wipe off the stain he had imprinted on his character as a conqueror. But neither his generous conduct to Demades, nor time, have effaced the blot from the page of his history; to such universal obloquy does evil conduct expose a man, and with such care ought every one to watch over his path in life.

The news of the defeat at Chæronea excited the utmost alarm at Athens. The people saw themselves exposed to an immediate attack from their powerful and inveterate foe. But they did not sit down in despair. Demosthenes not yet having returned, the lead in suggesting measures to ward off the danger, was taken by Hyperides. He proposed, and his decree was sanctioned by the popular assembly, that the women and children, and all that belonged to the worship of the gods, should be removed to the Piræus for security; that all Athenians who had been declared infamous, should be restored to their lost privileges; and that foreigners and slaves should be invested with the rights of citizenship, on condition of their joining in the defence of Athens. These latter clauses were opposed to existing laws, and Hyperides was subsequently reproached for introducing them; but he silenced the accusation by remarking, that he was not the author of the decree,

but the battle of Chæronea; which shows how deeply they felt the peril to which they were exposed by the defeat.

A victim seems to have been required by the Athenians to appease their rage, and such was found in the person of Lysicles. Accused by Lycurgus of having caused the death of a thousand citizens, and the capture of two thousand more, Lysicles was doomed to death, and the command of the Athenian forces was, after a stormy debate, intrusted to Phocion.

While these proceedings were going forward, Demosthenes returned, and though his enemies were incessant and vehement in their attacks, seeking even his life, they failed to render him odious to the people. The veneration which they had for his zeal and fidelity overbalanced the combined efforts of calumny and malice, (to which every weapon is accounted lawful,) and they committed to his care the important task of repairing the fortifications, and providing for the defence of the city, and elected him superintendent of the supply of provisions.

After the battle of Chæronea, it is said that Eschines openly boasted of his friendship and influence with the monarch of Macedonia, from which cause, perhaps, he was chosen as envoy to Philip, to request that the dead might be given up, and to discover the purpose of the conqueror. But Philip was already resolved to act generously towards the Athenians, deeming it wiser to disarm them by acts of kindness, than to exasperate them by rigorous measures. In pursuance of this resolution, his first step was to release the Athenian captives, without ransom. The return of these captives to the Athenian republic, contributed much to propitiate the people; but it was followed by another act, which had a still more powerful effect, and which exhibits, in strong colours, the Grecian veneration for the repose of the dead. Philip had ordered the bodies of the slain among the Athenians to be burned with every mark of respect, and he now transmitted the remains to Athens, accompanied by his principal minister, Antipater, who was intrusted with the care of the procession, and was appointed his ambassador. These ashes were received as a precious gift, and Demosthenes was chosen, by his fellow-citizens, to deliver their funeral oration. They were buried with all Grecian magnificence, and on their monument affection engraved this inscription:

> Beneath this earth entombed, the bones of those
> Who fell a sacrifice to zeal, repose.

By their united deaths, the bitter yoke
Greece was about to wear, asunder broke.
This Jove decreed : for mortals you must know,
No effort can redeem from fated woe.
The gods alone, eternity employ
In sinless lives, and never ending joy.

The conduct of Philip in releasing the prisoners, and delivering up the ashes of the dead, had its intended effect. A treaty was promptly concluded, and on terms favourable to the Athenians. By it they avoided loss, and regained the possession of the town and territory of Oropus, which had been long withheld from them by the Thebans.

The Athenians had uniformly resisted Philip's attempts to subjugate Greece, and therefore they were thus respected. The Thebans had been his allies, and had deserted him at a critical period, and therefore he assumed to them a stern countenance. He banished his foes from Thebes, and restored his exiled friends, while the government passed into the hands of the Macedonian party. The Bœotian cities were confirmed, indeed, in a nominal independence, but they were in reality under the yoke of Philip; and, lest they should endeavour to break that yoke, a garrison was stationed by Philip in the citadel of Thebes.

Hitherto, Philip has been described as struggling with his neighbours, courting the Athenians, and practising with the other states of Greece, by all the arts he could devise, to gain the ascendancy. All the Hellenic states, Sparta alone excepted, were now beneath his control. What enterprise was he now to undertake? Ambition prevented his repose, and he turned his attention to the theatre of glory, Persia, pointed out by "that old man, eloquent" Isocrates, in order to avert the ruinous dissensions of the Greeks. Accordingly, in the spring of B. C. 337, Philip convened a congress of the Grecian states at Corinth, to which all the members of the Hellenic body sent deputies, except contumacious Sparta. In this congress, war against Persia, the ravager of their country, the desecrator of their temples, and the stimulator of their quarrels, was proposed by Philip, and determined upon by the congress: the Arcadian deputies alone voting against the proposition.

Philip was elected commander-in-chief of this expedition, and he immediately commenced operations. He despatched Attalus and Parmenio into Asia Minor, with troops, to stir up the Greek cities in Asia to revolt, and prepare for his recep-

tion; after which, he returned to Macedonia, to make arrangements for his own departure.

But Philip was doomed never to set foot in Asia, nor to witness the assembling of the Grecians for the purpose of invading Persia. For although he had nothing to fear from the Macedonians at large, or the Grecian states, in his own family there was much to fear. Domestic discord there ruled dominant. His unfaithfulness had so wrought upon the mind of his queen Olympias, that her disposition had become haughty, passionate, and vindictive. This led to her repudiation, and his marriage with Cleopatra, the daughter of one of his nobles. This, with other circumstances, irritated the youthful and impetuous Alexander to such a degree, that he insulted his father, and departed with his mother Olympias to Illyria. The semblance of a reconciliation, however, was at length effected, and Olympias returned to the Macedonian court; but deadly revenge rankled in her bosom, and it is said, that she was implicated in the catastrophe which followed her return to court.

Soon after Philip's return from Corinth, a son was born to him by his new queen. This would doubtless inflame the resentment of Olympias. Philip, however, showed all regard for her children, probably to allay her resentment. At this period, indeed, he had succeeded in accomplishing his object of uniting her daughter Cleopatra to her uncle Alexander of Epirus, and he resolved that the birth and marriage should be celebrated with the utmost magnificence.

The city chosen for the scene of this festival was Ægæ, the ancient capital of Macedonia. Here it was held, and nothing was spared that could delight the senses, or captivate the mind. Actors, musicians, and singers, were brought from all parts of Greece, to charm the guests by their varied talents. Sacrifices also were offered to the gods; games and sports of every description were held; and lavish hospitality extended to the multitude. The most eminent individuals, moreover, resorted to the festival; and the principal cities sent deputations to congratulate him, and to present him with golden crowns.

Among the Athenians who resorted to Ægæ, was Neoptolemus, a famous tragic poet, who had composed a dramatic entertainment for the occasion. The title of this piece was *Cinyras*, and it was intended to represent Philip as lord of Asia. It is said, that the following lines, depicting the pride and downfal of the Persians, those ancient enemies of Greece,

so affected Philip, that he caused them to be several times repeated.

> Your hopes above heaven's concave make their way,
> O'er all the earth's wide globe you seek to sway;
> Palace to palace join, and, madly vain,
> Think that no bounds should life or lands restrain.
> Alas! that lot, which ye would far remove,
> With hasty step your constancy shall prove
> Secure in thought, a stroke doth now impend,
> Which to extended views shall give an end;
> Sudden and sure it falls, nor shall your power defend.

Little did Philip conceive, when he demanded the repetition of these verses, that they were more impressively applicable to himself than to the Persian monarch whose overthrow he meditated. While they sounded in his ears, death was hovering over him. In the morning of the second day, he went in procession with his guests to the theatre. A part of the pageant consisted of the statues of the twelve greater gods, which heathen mythology had hewn out for worship. From a desire to flatter, another had been carved on this occasion, to represent the Macedonian sovereign, similarly vested with the celestial group, and embellished in the same sumptuous style. Adorned with a white robe, Philip advanced at some distance in front of his guards, in order that he might manifest his confidence in the affection of the Greeks. At this moment, as he was entering the passage to the theatre, a Macedonian youth of high rank, named Pausanius, rushed forward, plunged a sword into his left side, and laid him dead at his feet.*

The dreadful deed was beheld by the multitude with awe. Some of them pressed forward to lend their assistance to the lifeless sovereign, while others pursued his murderer. Pausanius had a horse in readiness for his escape, and would probably have effected his purpose, had not his foot become en-

* Pausanius is said to have been prompted by resentment to this crime; Philip having failed to do him justice, for an atrocious outrage—too atrocious to be recorded—which had been committed upon him at the instigation of Attalus, while he was insensible from wine. This is not improbable; but there is no doubt that the deed was the result of a treasonable plot, and that Pausanius was an instrument in the hands of others, more crafty than himself. This fact, indeed, seems clearly established; and the hasty manner in which Pausanius himself was put to death, would justify the suspicion that some of his executioners were his confederates, and were actuated rather by a wish to secure silence, than to punish guilt. One of the conspirators, Amyntas, fled to Darius, and fought at the battle of Issus against Alexander.

tangled in a vine, which threw him upon the ground. This enabled his pursuers to overtake him, and he was slain.

Such was the latter end of Philip, king of Macedonia! Such the issue of his feverish dreams of ambition! His was, as expressed by the poet,

> The pride of strength, skill, speed, and subtilty,
> The pride of tyranny,

and dominion over his fellow man was his one great aim. By his talent, combined with his arts of deception, bribery, and fraud, he acquired the most potent monarchy that had ever existed among the Greeks; and how great he was reckoned, may be seen by the adulation paid him in his last hours. But what is human greatness? If, reader, you wish to know, look in fancy at the slain carcase of Philip, and you will read there, "It is vanity;" and will be constrained to exclaim,

> How mean that snuff of glory fortune lights,
> And death puts out!—YOUNG.

The death of Philip occurred B. C. 335. He was succeeded in his kingdom by his son

ALEXANDER.

Alexander, on whom mankind, dazzled by military glory, have conferred the epithet of "the Great," and who was the subject of prophecy, was born at Pella, B. C. 356.

Philip, convinced that a good education is the best gift a father can bestow upon his offspring, spared neither pains nor expense to procure him the best instructors. In his early years, Alexander was under the government of Leonnatus, or Leonidas, a relative of Olympias, who was a man of austere manners and rigid morals. From one of his preceptors, however, the young prince imbibed many errors. This was Lysimachus, an Arcananian, whose gross flattery and vanity led him to designate Philip as Peleus, Alexander as Achilles, and himself as Phœnix. To the adulatory conduct of this man are ascribed many of those faults, which at a later period sullied his pupil's fame: an apt illustration of the poet's sentiment, that,

> 'Tis education forms the common mind;
> Just as the twig is bent, the tree's inclined.
>
> POPE.

The seeds of error which Lysimachus sowed in the heart of Alexander would probably have taken deeper root, had not Aristotle succeeded him in his office. For five years, this celebrated man poured forth the stores of his capacious mind, to render his pupil worthy both of the affections of his subjects and of empire. Nor were his labours wholly in vain. Before he took the reigns of empire in his hands, Alexander was chaste, sober, temperate, and an enemy to luxury. He was also endowed with much knowledge, and he excelled in many accomplishments. Poetry (which, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, "excelleth history, not only in furnishing the mind with knowledge, but in setting it forward to that which deserves to be called and accounted good") was his peculiar delight. But, unfortunately for the world, Alexander does not appear to have delighted in that species of poetry which humanizes the heart. For him, the Illiad of Homer, in the pages of which war is represented as a virtue, and the warrior as something more than human, had the greatest charms. Its strains accorded with the tone of his heart; and he adopted for his favourite hero that dangerous model for a future sovereign, Achilles.

Such was Alexander, when he ascended the throne of Macedonia. Some writers have assigned to him a share in the crime of the murder of his father, in order to ascend that throne; but there is no evidence of this fact. On the contrary, one of his first acts on his accession was, to put to death Heromenes, Arrhabæus, and Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas, who were accomplices in that fatal deed.

The early measures of Alexander were calculated to conciliate his subjects, and to secure his authority. He granted a remission of taxes, and displaced no one from office; while Harpalus, Erygius, Laomedon, Nearchus, and Ptolemy the son of Lagus, who had incurred the anger of Philip, were recalled to Macedonia.

It has been seen that Philip was about to lead the army of the confederate Greeks against Persia. Alexander was heir both of the power and projects of Philip; and as soon as he ascended the throne, he prepared to execute the mighty plans formed against Persia. Before he could cross the Hellespont, however, Alexander had many difficulties to surmount. The flames of discontent raging among the Grecian states had been checked, but not extinguished, by the battle of Chæronea; and they were on the point of breaking forth with renewed violence. The affairs of Macedonia assumed an

alarming aspect on every hand. The Thracians, Triballians, and Illyrians, threatened hostilities, east, north, and west; while in the south, the friendship of some states was uncertain, and the enmity of others unquestionable. Thebes exhibited signs of disaffection; the Ætolians recalled the exiles expelled by Philip; the Arcadians openly avowed their adverse sentiments; the Ambraciots restored the democracy, and drove out the garrison; the majority of the citizens of Athens, influenced by Demosthenes, exhibited signs of hostility; and most of the Peloponnesian republics were eager to shake off the Macedonian yoke.

The part which the great orator of Athens took on hearing of the death of Philip, and the consequent accession of Alexander, reflects no honour on his character. On receiving the news, which was brought him by an express sent by Charidemus, his friend, residing at the court of Macedonia, he convened an assembly of the people, and announced to them that Jupiter and Minerva had revealed to him, in a dream, that Philip was dead. This intelligence was soon confirmed by couriers; and the people being re-assembled, Demosthenes proposed that a crown should be voted to the assassin, and that sacrifices of thanksgiving should be offered to the gods. Nor did he exult alone over the deed. He sneered at Alexander as a boy, and reviled him with the degrading appellation of Margites, the stupid hero of a mock heroic poem attributed to Homer. He assured the Athenians, also, that the object of his sarcasm would not dare stir out of his kingdom, but would live a life of inglorious ease; intimating that, since glory was only to be purchased by blood, it would never fall to the lot of Alexander.

Demosthenes early discovered, that he had made a wrong estimate of the character of the youthful sovereign of Macedonia, who, finding himself thus beset by his foes, bestirred himself to the utmost. At the head of his armies, he marched to Thessaly, to establish his influence there; knowing, that if the Thessalians were hostile, the Grecian states would be unapproachable. He crossed the Thessalian frontier, and marched towards Larissa, where he met with a cordial reception. A general assembly was convoked, which invested him with the same authority over them that had been enjoyed by Philip; and they bound themselves to assist in raising him to the dignity of captain-general of the Greeks, and head of the Hellenic confederation.

From Larissa, the vigorous Alexander marched with the

combined forces of Thessaly and Macedonia to Thermopylæ, where the Amphyctionic council was then sitting, and among whom, by general consent, he was allowed to assume the seat vacated by the death of Philip.

Aware of the effects the display of power produces on a people, Alexander next advanced with his army into Bœotia, and encamped in the vicinity of Thebes. This movement had the desired effect. Both Thebes and Athens trembled at his presence, and stifled the voice of disaffection. From Athens, in particular, a complimentary deputation was sent to Alexander, by which their ready obedience was expressed. It is said that Demosthenes was one of the appointed deputies, and that he journeyed with them as far as Mount Cithæron, on the Bœotian frontier, when, overcome by fear at the result of meeting with the object of his ill-timed raillery, he returned to Athens.

The next movement of Alexander was to Corinth, where a council of delegates from the Hellenic republics was now assembled. In this assembly, Alexander urged his claims so eloquently, that, backed by his numerous forces, he was elected captain-general of the Grecian confederacy, by all the states but contumacious Sparta; which contumacy, from motives of policy, he passed over without exhibiting resentment. The bold tone of its envoys might also have an effect upon the mind of Alexander. "The Lacedæmonians," said they, "have been accustomed to command on such occasions, and not to be commanded."

After Alexander's election, many officers and governors, with philosophers, waited upon him, to offer their congratulations. The celebrated Diogenes was then at Corinth, and Alexander anticipated a visit from him. Diogenes, however, was greater in his own estimation, though living in a tub, than the captain-general of the confederated Greeks, and Alexander looked in vain for his congratulations. Upon this, the youthful monarch determined to visit the philosopher. When he approached the cynic, he found him stretched on the ground, basking in the sunshine, but surrounded by all the chilling signs of poverty. "Is there any thing that I can do to serve you?" asked Alexander. "All I require," said the cynic, "is, that you will not stand between me and the rays of the sun." The courtiers mocked the philosopher; but the monarch, struck with this apparent greatness of soul, silenced them by exclaiming, "Were I not Alexander, I would be Diogenes." He forgot that pride, like a rank weed, grows most commonly

on a dunghill; that sometimes it appears even under the cloak of humility; and that therefore this answer of Diogenes might have emanated from that evil principle. The world has given the cynic credit for humility and greatness of soul in despising the insignia of grandeur: his answer savours of arrogance and pride. There are many paths leading to the temple of fame, reared by mortal hands: Diogenes took an unfrequented one, but he has succeeded in occupying a niche in the structure.

Having succeeded to the utmost of his wishes in the Grecian states, Alexander returned to Macedonia. He spent the winter in his own dominions; but as soon as the spring arrived, he took the field against the Thracians and Triballians, who threatened his states on the east and the north. In a space of time so brief as scarcely to be credible, he subdued all the tribes between the Strymon and the Danube: he even passed the latter river upon stuffed hides, and gained a victory over the Getæ, or Goths.

The fame of Alexander in these parts attracted deputies with offers of friendship from the Celts, or Gauls, a brave and powerful people who lived in the country north-east of the Adriatic. Their alliance was accepted, and their ambassadors treated with urbanity and distinction. While they remained with him, he asked them what was most dreaded by the Celts; expecting a reply flattering to his own vanity. He was disappointed. The haughty Celts boldly replied, that they feared nothing but the falling of the sky and stars. Humbled by the reply, Alexander paused, and then dismissed the ambassadors, contenting himself with simply rejoining, that the Celts were a boastful nation.

Having subdued the tribes south of the Danube, Alexander repassed the defiles of the Hæmus, and entered Pœonia. Here he learned that the western frontier of Macedonia was threatened. Clitus, the son of Bardyllis, and Glaucias, the monarch of the Taulantians, inhabiting a part of the district of Skutari, with a tribe named the Autariats, living in the central division of modern Bosnia, on the north-east of Illyria, had confederated together against him. Holding the Autariats in check by the auxiliary force of the Agrians, he marched rapidly onward to Pellion, which had been seized by Clitus, and which, situated between the Erigonus, Apsus, Genusus, and Eordaicus, (the Kutchuk Karasou, Beretina, Scombri, and Ricolistas of the moderns,) covered the heads of the Illyrian defiles on the side of Macedonia. Ascending the valley of the Erigonus, Alexander appeared before Pellion, and pitched his camp

near the source of the Eordaicus, resolving to assault the city on the following day. The enemy, who were posted on the hills, anticipated the onset, and fearing the result, retired into the fortress.

Alexander took possession of the camp of the enemy, and in doing so, he beheld a fearful proof of their sanguinary superstition. Three youths, three maidens, and three black rams, all bleeding and mangled, had been offered, according to ancient custom, in order to propitiate the gods: illustrating the words of the psalmist:

> The dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty.
> Isa. lxxiv. 20.

There is much confusion in the records of this campaign; but it is obvious that Alexander was perplexed by the after movements of the Illyrians, Clitus being in his front, and Glaucias in his rear. He was in fact compelled to make a retrograde movement, which the Illyrian princes considered as a triumph. But this apparent superiority threw them off their guard, and Alexander availed himself of the negligent security of their widely scattered army to inflict upon them a terrible revenge. Silently crossing a river which flowed between the two camps, he came upon them suddenly in the dead of the night, and slew thousands of them. Many were slain in their sleep, numbers fell unarmed and in flight, and a great many were taken prisoners. Those who escaped, found shelter within the Taulantian mountains. Clitus fled to Pellion; but not deeming himself secure there, he set fire to the city, and withdrew into the dominions of Glaucias.

Notwithstanding the Illyrians were thus conquered, they were not subdued. They yet had power in reserve to cause the conqueror much annoyance. Alexander knew this, and having received intelligence which required his presence in Greece, his contest with the Illyrians was concluded by a treaty.*

The news which caused Alexander to make peace thus suddenly with the Illyrians, told him of events which threatened the subversion of his power over Greece. Emboldened by his absence in the north and west, and excited by the elo-

* The terms of this treaty are not recorded by Arrian, from whose pages this part of ancient history is derived. It is probable, however, that they were easy, as Glaucias and Clitus were ever afterwards friends with Alexander.

quence of the great Demosthenes, Thebes had shaken off the yoke, and other states exhibited signs of renewed hostility.

It has been seen how fiercely the resentment fell upon the heads of the Thebans after the victory of Chæronea. Many had been driven into exile, and those who remained were held in subjection by a Macedonian garrison stationed in the cadmea, or citadel. The exiles were naturally eager to seize an opportunity of returning to their homes, to recover their power. Demosthenes knew this, and he cherished their feelings by his eloquence, and put arms into their hands (either from his own private resources, or from those supplied by the Persian monarch) for that purpose.

The cadmea, or citadel, was situated in the centre of Thebes, and on the highest ground, a position well calculated to keep the citizens in awe. The troops which Philip had left there were commanded by Amyntas and Timolaus. These commanders, apprehending no resistance, left the citadel, and took up their abode in the lower town. The citizens saw this error, and resolved to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded them of asserting their freedom. After carrying on a secret correspondence with the banished Thebans for some time, on a certain night, the exiles were admitted into the city by their confederates. Their first step was, to put the commander of the garrison to death. This was effected; and in the morning, the people being assembled in the market-place, they were harangued by the leaders of the revolt, who told them that Alexander had perished in Illyria, and who implored them to shake off the yoke by which they were degraded and oppressed. The people answered them with one voice. All flew to arms, and the citadel was immediately invested, and a strong double entrenchment formed round it, in order to prevent the besieged from making sallies, or receiving supplies.

The spirit of revolt may be likened to a flame of fire, which, when it once gains the ascendency, spreads abroad till the whole mass is enveloped by the devouring element. Thebes called on the surrounding republics to co-operate in her daring enterprise, and her call was answered. The Athenians, Arcadians, Eleans, Ætolians, and others, rose in revolt against the supremacy of Macedonia, and they were joined by the bold Spartans.

This was the nature of the intelligence that reached Alexander; and he had no sooner received it, than he quitted the confines of Illyria, for the purpose of quelling the revolt. In seven days, he reached Pellene, in Thessaly, passing over the

rugged provinces of Eordæa and Elymiotis, and the rocky summits of Stymphæa and Paryea. Nor did he pause here. His motto was, "Onward;" and he passed the straits of Thermopylæ, and in six days more entered Bœotia. He had reached Onchestus before the Thebans were aware of the approach of an army; and even then they would not believe that it was headed by Alexander. The determined spirit in which Alexander approached the Grecian states may be seen in a sentence which he uttered at Onchestus. Indignant at the contemptuous language which had been uttered respecting him, he said to his officers, "When I was in Illyria, and among the Triballi, Demosthenes, in his oration, called me a child; when I was in Thessaly, I was a young man; but I will now convince him, before the walls of Athens, that I am a man." Confident in the physical force he possessed, he already saw the Grecian states subjected to his dominion.

The great object of his rapid march was, to interpose his army between the city and Attica and the Peloponnesus, whence the Thebans could alone derive assistance. Accordingly, on the day after his arrival at Onchestus, Alexander encamped on the south side of Thebes, near the grove consecrated to Iolaus, the nephew and companion of Hercules. All hope of assistance from allies was now cut off from Thebes. Still, it was the policy of Alexander not to urge matters to extremities. He saw that the reduction of the town would be a tedious operation, and that whatever might be the result, the resources which he designed to use in the conquest of the Persian empire must suffer a serious diminution; and therefore, he proposed pacific measures. He commanded proclamation to be made by herald, that he would receive as friends all Thebans who would join him; the ringleaders, Phœnix and Prothytes, excepted. The Thebans rejected this offer, and they proclaimed, in reply, by herald, that they required Philotas and Antipater to be delivered up to them, and invited all who were solicitous for Grecian liberty to unite with them in humbling the tyrant of Greece.

Still, according to Arrian, Alexander delayed to give orders for an assault; and the same authority states, that the sword was ultimately drawn from its scabbard without his permission, and that the catastrophe was produced by Perdiccas. This general, who commanded an advanced guard, perceiving that a part of the rampart was feeble, made an assault upon it without instructions. He succeeded in obtaining an entrance, and Amyntas, son of Andromenes, hastened

with his division to his support. The Thebans resisted manfully, and Perdiccas being dangerously wounded, the defeat of the assailants would have been inevitable, had not Alexander appeared to their rescue. Accordingly, he ordered the Agrians and archers to advance, while he himself remained with the heavy-armed troops, to take such measures as circumstances might require. Thus strengthened, the Macedonian troops returned to the charge, and drove the Thebans as far as the temple of Hercules. Here their success was momentarily ended. The Thebans rallied, and so fierce was their charge, that they drove the whole of the assailants out of the city in great disorder.

Had the Thebans been content with repelling the Macedonians from the city, the most important consequences might have been the result. Eager, however, to improve their victory, they pursued the flying foe beyond the walls, in equal confusion. This was a fatal error. Alexander rushed upon them, at the head of the phalanx, and they took flight, and sought refuge within the ramparts, neglecting, in their panic, to close the gates after them. The troops of Alexander poured now into the city unimpeded, and, being reinforced by the Macedonian garrison, who, beholding the coming aid, broke through the lines of investment, the city was taken. The cavalry escaped into the open country, with some small remnant of the infantry; the rest perished by the sword.

Fearful was the scene that followed the capture of Thebes. The Macedonians, Thespians, Phocians, Plasæans, and Orchomenians, who formed the mass of Alexander's army, committed every excess upon the Thebans that rage and brutality could suggest. The men were butchered on every hand; the women endured indignities more horrible than death. From the very temples, nay, from the very horns of the altar, they were torn, in the agonies of despair, by the ruthless conquerors.

The calamities of Thebes did not stop here. The hatred which his allies bore to the Thebans, inspired a demand for the ruin of the Theban name. Accordingly, Alexander committed the fate of Thebes to an assembly of those republicans whose troops were under his command, and who had already written their hatred of the city in characters of blood. These enumerated the crimes of Thebes in an exaggerated strain, and demanded the destruction of the captives, and abolition of the city.

One solitary voice alone was allowed to plead the cause of

the Thebans; that of Cleadas, a Theban prisoner. This man strove to palliate the fault of his revolted fellow-citizens. He showed that they had not revolted against Alexander, whom they believed to be dead, but against his presumed successor; and that, therefore, they had erred from credulity, not from perfidy. He endeavoured to excite the pity of Alexander, also, by a lively picture which he drew of the remaining inhabitants; there being none left but a few women and aged men, who were bending to the earth with shame from the calamities they had recently suffered, and who, therefore, could not excite any apprehension from future revolt. He concluded by reminding his hearers that Thebes had given birth to "heroes and gods," and by imploring them to spare a city where Hercules first drew the breath of life, and which had been the cradle of the rising glory of Philip, father of Alexander.

It is in the nature of man, in his fallen state, to rejoice over and trample upon a conquered enemy. Whence, although the sanguinary measure proposed by some of the deputies was not adopted by the congress, the doom passed upon Thebes and the Thebans was of a terrible nature. It was decreed that the cadmea should be re-garrisoned; that Thebes should be razed to the ground; that the lands, except those consecrated to religious uses, should be divided among the conquerors; and that the remaining Thebans, of every age and sex, save the priests and the partisans of Macedonia, should be sold into slavery. This cruel decree was carried into effect to the very letter: 30,000 Thebans are said to have been consigned to hopeless slavery by it, and 6,000 to have perished in the storming of the city. Among the few who were exempted from slavery, were the descendants of the celebrated poet Pindar, who were saved at the express command of Alexander; such commanding influence has genius possessed over the minds even of ruthless warriors, whose poetry and music may be said to be shrieks of the wounded and the dying.

Some historians represent Alexander as void of power in this transaction, and as giving up Thebes to the vengeance of his allies reluctantly. There does not appear to be any ground for such views. Alexander held unlimited sway over his allied troops, and he was too high spirited to submit to dictation. Rather, the congress of deputies would appear to have been the mere counterfeit of a representative body appointed to screen Alexander from the odium which such severe measures would inevitably draw down upon his head. In after

life, it is said, indeed, that he repented of having caused or consented to the destruction of Thebes; that he imputed some of his crimes and disappointments to the resentment of Bacchus for that deed; and that he never refused a favour to a Theban suitor. The deed may therefore be considered one of the darkest spots in the life of Alexander, and the stain of which can never be erased from his memorial.

One of the ends Alexander appears to have had in view by this terrible example of his vengeance, was, to overawe the rest of the Grecian states. It had this effect. Consternation seized upon all, and they hastened to propitiate their powerful and vindictive superior. The Arcadians, Eleans, and Ætolians, were among the first who acted thus, and they seem to have been favourably received.

At Athens, the greatest alarm prevailed. When the intelligence reached them, the citizens were engaged in celebrating the mysteries of Eleusis.* These were immediately suspended. Eleusis was deserted, and the inhabitants hastily retreated within the walls of Athens. The confederate council had decreed vengeance against whoever should afford shelter to the fugitives of Thebes; but notwithstanding this, and their own immediate danger, they listened to the voice of humanity, and received all those who resorted thither for an asylum, which greatly redounds to their honour.

A general assembly was soon convoked by the terror-stricken Athenians, to devise measures for averting the impending storm. Demades, who had rebuked Philip for his exultation over the dead at the battle of Chæronea, took the lead on this occasion; and his proposal that an embassy of ten citizens should be sent to Alexander, to implore his clemency, was adopted. This deputation was courteously received by Alexander; but they were dismissed without effecting their purpose. Alexander consented, in an epistle which he sent by them, not to consider them as enemies; but he demanded that nine† of the Athenian orators should be delivered up to him as the price of his forgiveness. The names of these in-

* This festival was observed every fifth year at Eleusis, and was the most celebrated of all the religious ceremonies of Greece. It was sacred to Ceres and Proserpine, and every thing in it contained a mystery, whence it was denominated, by way of eminence, "The Mysteries." To reveal any part of these mysteries was certain death, and the neglect of their observance was considered a crime of no ordinary magnitude.

† Arrian states this number, but Plutarch says eight, and Diodorus ten. Arrian seems to have had in this case, the best means of information, and therefore his statement is here adopted.

dividuals were those of Demosthenes, Hyperides, Lycurgus, Polyeuctes, Charetes, Charidemus, Ephialtes, Diotemus, and Merocles. These orators were accused by Alexander of being the common disturbers of Greece, the authors of the battle of Chæronea, the revolt of Thebes, and all the plots which had been formed against himself and father; and therefore it was that he required them to be delivered up to him.

The Athenians were perplexed to the utmost to know how to act on this occasion. They saw that they were ruined if they disobeyed, and disgraced if they complied with the demand. The general feeling was, to reject so fatal a precedent. This may be seen in their conduct to Phocion, who deprecated war, recommended that the orators should be sent to Alexander, and called upon Demosthenes and his companions to come forward, and offer themselves for the salvation of Athens, as the daughters of Leos and the Hyacinthides* were said to have done in the fabulous ages. This advice, says Diodorus, though it wore the garb of patriotism, was so repugnant to the feelings of the Athenians, that they tumultuously expelled Phocion from the assembly.

As may be supposed, the great orator, Demosthenes, was not silent on this occasion. As soon as Phocion was expelled, he stood up, and addressed the multitude in all the thunders of his eloquence. It can be readily imagined that, as his own existence was at stake, he was more than usually animated in this harangue; but history has preserved nothing more of it than a brief notice of the mode in which he illustrated his arguments. Quoting the fable of the sheep who surrendered up their dogs to obtain peace with the wolves, he reminded the Athenians that the persecuted orators were the guardians of the state, and that Alexander was the wolf, who waited to devour the flock. He added, in the course of his harangue: "As merchants carry a small sample of grain in a dish, in order to sell large quantities, even so will you Athenians, by surrendering us to Alexander, deliver in reality into his hands the whole of the people."

Influenced by the harangue of Demosthenes, which ac-

*Leos is said, in a fabulous story, to have immolated his three daughters, Praxithea, Theope, and Eubule, for the good of Athens; and the Hyacinthides were six daughters of Erechtheus, king of Athens, who offered themselves to be immolated in order to gain the victory for their country over Eumolpas, king of Thrace. Their name is derived from the village where the offering was made. Some, however, say, that they were the daughters of Hyacinthus.

corded with the feelings of humanity, the Athenians exclaimed, that they would protect the menaced orators to the last. Had this been reported to Alexander, war would doubtless soon have been at their gates. The orator Demades saw this, and he undertook to exert his influence in behalf of his colleagues; though, if Diodorus and Plutarch be correct, his humanity was not disinterested. These historians say, that he was bribed to the act by five talents, or about 1,000*l*. Be this as it may, a decree was drawn up by him, in which Alexander was entreated to desist from his demand, and a promise was given, that if the accused were found guilty by the Athenian tribunals, they should suffer according to the law. Demades, Phocion, and others, waited upon Alexander with this decree, and they were likewise instructed to request that the Athenians might be allowed to afford hospitality to the Theban exiles. Either satiated with revenge, or from a wish to blot out, by some act of clemency, the barbarous action of which he had been so recently guilty, or anxious that nothing should retard his expedition into Asia, Alexander heard the prayer of this decree with favour. He granted all that was required, except the pardon of Charidemus, who had offended by his conduct when formerly at the court of Macedonia, and he was sentenced to be banished from the Grecian states, in order to appease his wrath. Plutarch attributes the successful result of this embassy chiefly to Phocion; and it is very probable that his presence had great influence, for he was a zealous partizan of both Philip and Alexander.

Having thus once more laid Greece prostrate, Alexander returned to Macedonia, where the winter was spent in feastings, rejoicings, and religious solemnities. The Olympic festival was celebrated at Ægæ, and games and sacrifices were performed for nine successive days, in honour of the Muses. But it was not in pleasures alone that Alexander spent the winter. The golden prize of empire in the east was still in his view, and he held frequent councils to deliberate upon the best measures for securing that prize. It is said, that Antipater and Parmenio recommended that Alexander should marry, in order to have an heir to the throne before his expedition; but the youthful monarch was impatient to commence his march, and preparations were accordingly made for engaging in the enterprise in the ensuing spring, B. C. 334.

As soon as the spring arrived, Alexander led his forces to Sestos, in Thrace, whence they were transported across the Hellespont. He passed on, without opposition, till he came

to the Granicus, a river that flows from Mount Ida into the Propontis. At this river he charged the Persians with great fury, and obtained a decisive victory, which was followed by the subjugation of all the provinces west of the river Halys, which had formed the ancient kingdom of Lydia. Before the first campaign closed, indeed, Alexander was the undisputed master of Asia Minor.

Alexander opened the second campaign, B. C. 333, with the reduction of Phrygia; after which he entered into Cilicia, and, marching through the pass called the Syrian Gates, reached the bay of Issus. He expected to meet the Persian monarch at this place; but he, being persuaded by his flatterers that Alexander was afraid to meet him, had entered the defiles in quest of the Greeks. Eager for his prey, Alexander followed him thither, and attacking the barbarian columns with his famed phalanx, scattered them abroad; and the camp, with all its treasures, and the family of Darius, fell into the hands of the Macedonians.

In the third campaign, B. C. 332, Alexander resolved to subdue the maritime provinces, previous to his invading Upper Asia. He encountered no opposition until he reached Tyre, the inhabitants of which city boldly set him at defiance. After a long and brave resistance, however, Tyre was taken by storm, and its inhabitants butchered or enslaved. This success was followed by the submission of all Palestine and Egypt, which concluded this campaign.

Having received, during the winter, considerable reinforcements from Greece, Macedonia, and Thrace, Alexander opened his fourth campaign by crossing the Euphrates at Thapsacus, whence he advanced to the Tigris, and, having passed over this stream, entered the plains of Syria. He found Darius encamped with a large host near the village of Gaugamela, and not far from the town of Arbela. Having halted for a few days, to refresh his soldiers, Alexander advanced early in the morning against the vast host of Darius, and, after a brief struggle, put them to the rout, with the loss, it is said, of 40,000 men. Darius fled to Hyrcania, with a small escort, where he was deposed by Bessus, and thrown into chains. Hearing this, Alexander advanced against Bessus with the utmost speed; but he came too late to save the unhappy Darius, who was stabbed by the rebels, and left to expire on the road side.*

* The reader will find the events of Alexander's campaign in Persia, up to this period, more fully detailed in the History of the Persians.

Thus the goat with a notable horn (Alexander) pushed his conquests with such celerity and irresistible fury against the ram with two horns, (Darius Codomannus,) that he smote him as predicted by the prophet. See Dan. viii. 5—8, and xi. 2—4. The date at which this event occurred was B. C. 331, when the era of the Macedonian empire, which forms the subject of the next chapters, commenced.

CHAPTER V.

THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE.

Among the earliest acts of Alexander, after the Persian empire had virtually fallen into his hands, was the rewarding of Ammynapes, who held some office of authority in Egypt at the period when Alexander invaded it, and who had joined with Mazaces in surrendering up to the invader that important province. Ammynapes was now appointed satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania; and to secure his fidelity, a colleague, or a spy on his conduct, was given him, in the person of Tlepolemus, son of Pythopanes, who was one of the Companion cavalry.

After this, Alexander commenced a series of measures for securing the crown of Persia. The Greek mercenaries, after the death of Darius, had retired into the woody mountains which girdle Hyrcania on the side of Media and Parthia. To capture or annihilate these was his first object. Dividing his forces into three divisions, he put them in motion at Hecatompylos, the Parthian capital, where he had halted after the murder of Darius, to invade Hyrcania. Craterus was despatched to reduce the Tapeirians, who dwelt between the mountains and the sea; while he himself, with the largest and most active part of his army, took the way of the mountains, towards Zadracarta, the Hyrcanian capital; and Erygius conducted the remainder of the troops by a longer, but less difficult road to the same city, where, having fulfilled their purpose, the three columns were to reunite.

Alexander passed through the defiles of the mountains without meeting with any resistance. On his entrance into Hyrcania, he was met by Phradaphernes, satrap of that province and Parthia, with Nabarzanes, who had contributed to dethrone Darius, and other eminent men who had held offices in the Persian court. These submitted to his authority, and were favourably received, not excepting Nabarzanes, who

had committed violence upon his former sovereign. After this, Alexander penetrated, unopposed, to Zadracarta, where he was joined by the columns of Erygius and Craterus, who had brought the whole country of the Tapeirians into subjection.

Hitherto, the retreat of the Greek mercenaries was undiscovered. Soon after Alexander, however, had arrived at Zadracarta, Artabazus, who had exhibited unshaken fidelity towards his fallen sovereign, resorted to his camp, accompanied by his three sons, and Autophradates, the satrap of the Tapeirians, and a deputation from the Greek mercenaries. Alexander treated Artabazus and his sons with kindness and respect, and reinstated Autophradates in his satrapy; but to the Greek envoys he was less indulgent. He gave them the choice of submitting themselves wholly to his discretion, or to provide as well as they were able for their safety. As escape was impossible, the deputies consented to surrender; and Andronicus, son of Aggerus, and Artabazus, were appointed to lead them to the camp.

West of Tabaristan, is a chain of mountains, now called the mountains of Deilim, then inhabited by the Mardi, a predatory tribe, who hitherto had been safe in their poverty and mountain recesses. Against these Alexander now directed his arms, and coming upon them by surprise, they were compelled to resign themselves to his yoke. They were placed under the government of Autophradates, the satrap of the Tapeirians.

Upon Alexander's return to his camp, he found the Greek mercenaries, about 1500 in number, as well as some prisoners of importance, who had been deputed to Darius from Sinope, Carthage, Lacedæmon, and Athens. Alexander's conduct on this occasion was wise and humane. The deputies of Sinope and Carthage were dismissed; the Lacedæmonian and Athenian were committed to custody; while those of the Greek mercenaries who had entered into the pay of Persia before war was declared against that kingdom, were sent home as blameless, and the others were called upon simply to serve Alexander upon the same terms as they had served Darius, which offer they readily accepted.

The conquest of Hyrcania being completed, Alexander led the whole of his army to Zadracarta, where he halted for fifteen days, during which time public sacrifices were offered to the gods, and gymnastic exercises exhibited.

From this period, ancient authors date the change which

took place in the manners and disposition of Alexander, and which was ultimately productive of much crime, and of consequences injurious to his fame. He assumed the Persian dress, adopted the Persian customs, and gave himself up to the indulgence of luxury and of sensual passions. In his future history, indeed, the reader will perceive, that while he acquired glory as a monarch, he was losing it as a man; verifying the words of a divine, that "prosperity will kill with care, or surfeit with delight."

Alexander marched from Zadracarta, eastward, through the province of Parthia, to that of Aria, now a portion of Khorassan. He arrived at Susa, where Satibarzanes, satrap of Aria, came to submit himself to his authority, and, notwithstanding he was one of the murderers of Darius, he was confirmed in his satrapy; and Anaxippus was sent with forty horse, to serve as a safeguard to the Arian territory, that it might not receive injury from the Macedonian army!

NORTHERN EXPEDITION.

The subjection of the north-eastern provinces of the Persian empire, says Heeren, would perhaps have been attended with the greatest difficulties, had not the astonishing activity of the conqueror crushed in their birth the schemes of the treacherous Bessus, who, after the assassination of Darius, wished to erect a separate kingdom in Bactria. The Jaxartes was now, B. C. 329, the northern boundary of the Macedonian monarchy, as it had hitherto been that of the Persian. Besides, the possession of the rich trading countries, Bactria and Sogdiana, were objects of vast importance.

These were the points to which Alexander next directed his attention. While he was at Susa, intelligence was brought by some Persians, that Bessus, encouraged by the ardour of his own countrymen, and the promise of the aid of his Scythian neighbours, had assumed the upright tiara and striped robe, ensigns of royalty, and had declared himself king of Asia, with the ancient title of Artaxerxes. Provoked at this, Alexander put his army in motion towards Bactria. While he was hastening onward, however, Satibarzanes, the satrap of Aria, adding cruelty to treachery, slew Anaxippus and the forty Macedonian horsemen placed as a safeguard to the Arian territory, and summoned the Arians to join him at Artacoana, now Herat. As it would have been imprudent to penetrate into Bactria while Aria was in arms against him,

Alexander made a forced march with a portion of his army, and reached Artacoana on the second day. Satibarzanes had not calculated upon an encounter thus suddenly, and being unprepared, he fled, and succeeded in escaping with a remnant of his troops. Alexander took a severe revenge on many of those who obeyed the summons of Satibarzanes, putting numbers to death, and condemning others to slavery.

The conqueror's plans being thus deranged, and probably fearing disaffection in the centre of Persia, he bent his course towards the south-eastward. Zaranga, which is watered by the Etymander, or Heermund, and is now included in the territory called Seistan, was the first province he entered. This country was governed by Barzæntes, one of the murderers of Darius. Barzæntes fled at the approach of Alexander, and took refuge in a neighbouring part of India; but he was sent back by the Indian prince, and put to death by the conqueror. The Zarangians submitted without resistance, and Alexander made a brief stay in this province.

While at Zaranga, a dark stain was fixed on the character of Alexander. Dymnus, a Macedonian officer of no repute, entered into a conspiracy against the life of Alexander, and strove to induce his companion, Nicomachus, to join in the conspiracy. Nicomachus feigned assent, and obtained from him the names of the conspirators, with which he hastened to his brother Cebalinus, desiring him to convey it to the king, fearing his own movements would be watched. Not finding ready access, Cebalinus communicated the intelligence to Philotas, who promised to unfold it to Alexander. Philotas long neglected to perform his promise, and Cebalinus, fearing that some person might forestall him in divulging that affair, resorted to Metron, one of the royal guards, who introduced him to the king. A party of guards was forthwith sent to seize Dymnus; but he refused to surrender, and was slain. On being interrogated as to his silence, Philotas confessed that his conduct had been injudicious, and pleaded that the notorious worthlessness of both Dymnus and Nicomachus had led him to disbelieve the statement of the latter, and to imagine that he should expose himself to ridicule by divulging it to Alexander. The monarch appeared satisfied, and sealed his pardon by giving his hand to the offender; but he afterwards convened a council of the enemies of Philotas, among whom was Craterus, whose deliberation was fatal to him. He was doomed to die, and yet he was invited to supper by the monarch after the council had bro-

ken up, and was treated by him as a friend. In the dead of the night, however, when sleep had fallen upon him, the son of Parmenio was dragged from his bed, and led to the palace in chains. There Alexander exhibited the feelings of revenge, which had been hidden under the guise of friendship. He inveighed with extreme bitterness both against Philotas and his father, Parmenio, and charged them with treason, adducing neither argument nor proof sufficient to substantiate the charge. In lieu of proof of guilt, indeed, a confession was wrung from him by the most horrible tortures which baseness and malice could suggest, and against which no strength or courage could prevail; and his immediate death was the consequence.

One crime is ever the precursor of another. Parmenio, who had been one of the chief instruments in raising both Philip and Alexander to the exalted pitch of power they had attained, was the next victim. His long and splendid services, and his advanced age, were forgotten in this outrageous desire of revenge. His death was thus compassed. Polydamas, one of the Companions, was despatched with letters to Cleander, Sitalces, and Menides, officers under Parmenio in Media, with orders to put him to death. Polydamas eager to fulfil his deadly commission, travelled over the space of at least 700 miles which intervened between Zaranga and the Median capital, in eleven days, when he entered Ecbatana, and privately delivered to Cleander the orders of the regal assassin. The manner of effecting the murder was concerted between them, and the next day was appointed for the commission of the tragical act. Eager to see Polydamas, whom he had long considered one of his bosom friends, Parmenio sent to hasten his coming. The murderers were walking in the palace garden with their victim when Polydamas entered. The traitor hurried forward to embrace Parmenio, and then presented to him a letter from the king, and another fictitious one in the name of Philotas. The aged warrior read the letter from Alexander, and expressed a wish that he would be more careful of his person. He then proceeded to read the supposed communication from his son, and while in the act of doing so, the conspirators treacherously took away his life.

There was yet another act performed in this tragedy. On the ground of their close intimacy with Philotas, his friends Amyntas, Polemon, Attalus, and Simmias, sons of Andremon, were accused of being accomplices of the deceased general. Influenced by fear, Polemon fled; but Amyntas and his re-

maining brothers defended themselves so well, that they were declared innocent. Polemon, also, was brought back to the camp, and restored to favour; but the Lyncestian Alexander, after an imprisonment of three years, was now brought to trial, and condemned to die.

Such was the nature of the stain which Alexander brought upon his character at Zaranga. His crime was complicated, fearful, and bloody, and no facts in history are recorded whereby it might be extenuated. It is true, that Philotas stands charged with being ostentatious, vain, and arrogant; but he was also brave, generous, and of unshaken fidelity, qualities far outweighing his errors. Such did not justify his death. And then the aged Parmenio—what a fearful and base requital did he receive for his long and faithful services! He was put to death either because Alexander could not believe him to be ignorant of the crime of his son, or, what is more probable, because Alexander deemed it dangerous after the death of Philotas, to let the father exist, he possessing much influence over the Macedonians, whom he had commanded during a long life with high applause. If it be urged that Philotas pronounced himself guilty before his death, what evidence, it may be asked, is confession of guilt, under the tortures of malice? The history of modern ages proves, that confessions made on the rack are frequently extorted, to escape the tortures inflicted thereby, death being a welcome relief to the sufferer.

Reader, this part of the history of Alexander bids you beware of all sin; for if you would avoid great sins, you must take care not to commit those which are called by the world little sins. Vice is a gradual and easy descent, and the declivity at every pace becomes more steep; and those who descend, consequently, go down every moment with greater rapidity. The poet has well said, that

> Sin is a monster of such frightful mien,
> As to be hated needs but to be seen;
> Yet seen too oft, familiar grows its face,
> We first despise, then pity, then embrace.—POPE.

Pagan as he was, had Alexander been told that he would one day be guilty of the murder of these his two intimate friends, it is probable he would have asked, like Hazael of old, "Am I a dog, that I should commit such crimes?" but, giving himself up to the lust of power, he cared but little now by what means he secured the fancied good.

Alexander, however, exposed himself to danger by these violent measures. The brave and generous Philotas, and the aged warrior Parmenio, who had so nobly assisted in raising Macedonia from a very low state, were dear to the veterans of Alexander's army, and a commotion was raised among them at their death. Alexander was so apprehensive of danger, that he thought it necessary to remove the malcontents from the divisions to which they belonged, and to form them into a separate body, to which he gave the name of the "turbulent battalion." The monarch's fear was so great on this occasion, that all letters were opened, to prevent the spread of rebellion, and to learn the sentiments of the writers. The command of the Companion cavalry was also divided, it being deemed prudent not to confide it any longer to one person; and, finally, one of the generals of the body-guard was deprived of his station, and imprisoned on suspicion. All these measures emanated from the guilt of Alexander; for where guilt is, there fear waits upon it as a terrible companion.

After the different scenes in this tragedy had been acted, Alexander proceeded to the eastward, and entered the territory of a people whose original appellation was the Agriaspæ, but to whom the great Cyrus is said to have given the title of Euergetæ, or Benefactors, because, when his army was famishing for want, they voluntarily brought an abundant supply.* Alexander halted in this country, and sacrificed to Apollo. While he remained, he offered the Agriaspæ a considerable enlargement of their territories; but they showed their moderation, by contenting themselves with only a trifling addition.

Leaving Amenides, who had been the secretary of Darius, as satrap over the Agriaspæ, Alexander pursued his march towards the eastern frontier of the Persian empire, where he received the willing homage of the Drangians, Drangogians, and Arachosians, and conquered some of the Indian tribes dwelling in the neighbourhood of Arachosia.† Memnon was appointed satrap in these provinces.

* When this occurred is not definitely known, the Greeks being ignorant of Cyrus and his wars with the Scythians. Herodotus, however relates, that Cyrus undertook the war against Scythia in person, particularly that against the Bactrians and Sacæ, and was completely successful. It is probable, therefore, that it was at this period that he received the supply mentioned from the Agriaspæ. The term Euergetæ, it may be mentioned, was a translation of the original, for it is impossible that an eastern nation, who spoke Zendic, or Pehlivi, should have been called by a Greek appellation.

† It is not exactly known where Arachosia lay, whence, as Rennel ob-

While Alexander was thus engaged, he received intelligence that the Arians were again excited to revolt by Satibarzanes, who was now assisted by Bessus with 2000 Bactrian horse, to enable him to maintain the assumed sovereignty. Alexander entrusted the task of putting this revolt down, to Erygius and Caranus, who were to operate in concert with Artabazus, and Phradaphernes, the satrap of Parthia, who was to lead his forces to the attack from the Parthian frontier. Satibarzanes had now forces adequate to meet the enemy in the field, and he boldly met them, but encountering Erygius in single combat, he was pierced by the lance of his opponent, and the Arians fled.

Before the winter, Alexander once more turned his arms northward. He directed his course through the central part of the country which forms the present kingdom of Cabul, to the mountainous province bordering on Bactria, and intersected by the lofty Paropamisan chain. Here having found an eligible situation, Alexander halted, and founded a city, to which he gave his own name.* He put his troops into winter quarters here, during which time he made preparations for invading Bactria on the return of spring. The civil government of this district was committed to the Persian, Proexes, and the military to Niloxenus, a Greek.

The snow, which falls in great abundance in the mountainous districts where Alexander wintered, had not disappeared when he moved forward to conquest. The Paropamisan mountains are not so properly a regular range as a confused mass of mountains, about 200 miles across; very difficult of access, and little frequented: they are cold, rugged and barren towards the Hindoo Kho, or Indian mountain, and have a very sudden descent into the plains of Bactria on the north. It was at the southern foot of the Hindoo Kho, or, as the Greeks have named it, the Indian Caucasus,† that

serves, it is not possible to follow the line of Alexander's routes on the west of the Indus. The only fact known, however, is, that it lay somewhere to the south-east of Drangiana, and south of Candahar. See page 17 of the History of the Persians.

* It is supposed by some, that Candahar is the site of this city, while Heeren and others think that Cabul, or its vicinity, was probably the spot.

† Elphinstone thus describes this mountain: "On entering the plain of Peshawer, four ranges of mountains were seen on the north. The lowest had no snow; the tops of the second were covered with it; as was the third, half way down. The fourth was the principal range of the Indian Caucasus, which is always covered with snow; is conspicuous from Bactria and the borders of India; and is seen from places far

Alexander wintered, and whence he set out on his conquests. There are seven passes through it, and by one of these it is supposed that Alexander, difficult as the task was, marched with his army, and all their attendant encumbrances, into Bactria.

In a brief period, this obstacle was surmounted, as well as that which was opposed to him by the ravaged territory at the foot of the hills. Alexander first reached the town of Drapsaca, where he refreshed his troops with rest. After this, he commenced operations. Bactra and Aornus, the chief cities of Bactria, surrendered without resistance, and a garrison was placed in the citadel of the latter, under Archelaus, son of Androcles. The rest of Bactria also submitted, and Artabazus was entrusted with the satrapy.

In the meantime Bessus retired before the impending storm, and had taken refuge behind the Oxus, in Sogdiana. To preclude pursuit, he burned the vessels in which he passed over the river, and took post at Nautaca, with the Sogdan and Dahan cavalry, led by Spitamenes and Oxyartes. His own power had vanished; for his troops, finding him resolved to quit their province, deserted him, and returned each man to his home.

The passage of the Oxus, had it been defended with common courage and skill, would have been impracticable. In itself it was a difficult affair, from the great depth and rapidity of the stream. Where Alexander resolved to cross

off in Tartary. We first saw these mountains at the distance of 100 miles; but they would have been visible long before, if the view had not been shut out by the hills through which we travelled. In appearance, however, they were very near. The ridges and hollows of their sides were clearly discernible; and this distinctness, joined to the softness and transparency which their distance gave them, produced a singular and very pleasing effect. The snowy range is by no means of equal altitude, being in some places surmounted by peaks of great height and magnitude, which do not taper to a point, but rise at once from their bases with amazing boldness and grandeur. The stupendous height of these mountains, the magnificence and variety of their lofty summits, the various nations by whom they are seen, and who seem to be brought together by this common object, and the awful and undisturbed solitude which reigns amidst their eternal snows, fill the mind with admiration and astonishment, that no language can express. Several of the most remarkable were measured geometrically from the plain of Peshawer by Lieutenant Macartney, who found their altitude 20,493 feet above that level. As that plain cannot be less than 1500 feet above the level of the sea, they must consequently be 22,000 feet of absolute height, and therefore higher than the loftiest of the Andes, hitherto esteemed the highest in the world."

it, it was three-fourths of a mile broad; its depth more than common; its bottom sandy; and its stream so rapid, as to render it almost unnavigable. Added to this, neither boat nor tree could be found. From these combined circumstances, its passage was deemed so arduous an undertaking by his ablest commanders, that they advised him to return, But Alexander was not so easily daunted. His genius rose superior to these apparent difficulties. He ordered the skins which formed the beds of the soldiers to be stuffed with straw and other light substances, and sewed up to exclude the water. Of these, rafts were made, by which his army passed over the Oxus in five days.

Having crossed the Oxus, Alexander marched immediately towards the camp of Bessus, which he found abandoned. Soon after, he was met by envoys from Spitamenes, satrap of the province of Sogdiana, and Dataphernes, another eminent Persian, who promised, that if he would send an officer with a small party they would surrender up the usurper. Alexander sent Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, and Bessus was placed at his disposal; and, as will be seen, he was finally put to death with a cruelty unworthy of the Grecian character, though he richly deserved punishment for his treachery towards Darius.

The country which Alexander had now reached was, and is, also, to the present day, famous for its breed of horses. As his cavalry had sustained heavy losses in his toilsome march across the Paropamisus, and in the passage of the Oxus, he availed himself of the opportunity to repair these losses. Having done so, he proceeded to Maracanda, the Sogdian capital.

Alexander did not long remain inactive. Insatiable of victory and conquests, he marched forward in search of new nations whom he might subdue. He proceeded to the Jaxartes, a river which formed the northern boundary of the Persian empire, in order to punish the hill tribes, who had cut off a body of Macedonian horse which had been sent out to forage. As he approached, these tribes retired to a mountain, which, from its steepness and ruggedness on all sides, was almost inaccessible. Alexander made several ineffectual attempts to storm this post, and he at length received a severe wound from an arrow, which rendered it necessary for him to be borne in a litter some time after the accident. But notwithstanding this wound, by dint of perseverance, the assailants carried the posi-

tion, and a fearful slaughter was made among the enemy: 8,000 only, out of 30,000, it is said, escaped.

In order to subject the natives of the neighbouring territory to his rule, Alexander founded a city on the left bank of the upper Jaxartes, to which he gave his own name, but which the Greeks denominated *Eschata*, or "the farthest." Its site is supposed to have been near the modern Khojend, in the district of Ferghana, which forms a part of the kharrat of Khokand. The place was peopled by a part of the Greek mercenaries, some invalid Macedonians, and those Sogdians, who wished to settle there.

While thus employed, Alexander received a deputation from a prince of some of the tribes of European Scythians, who inhabited the country between the Ister and Tanais, now the Danube and the Don, and another from the Abians, Asiatic Scythians, who probably dwelt at the southern foot of the Altaic mountains. These were kindred races, and though they sent to desire peace, their chief object seems to have been, to penetrate the designs, and estimate the strength of the conqueror. Under this impression, Alexander retaliated. He feigned a wish to negotiate an alliance with their rulers; and under this pretence, he sent envoys home with them, to ascertain the situation of their country and their resources.

Alexander flattered himself that his victories in the northern provinces had ensured peace. This was an illusion. A spirit of discontent prevailed on every hand, and one of his own measures brought it into action. He issued an order for the chief men of Bactria and Sogdiana to meet at the Bactrian capital, for the purpose of deliberating upon public affairs. Spitamenes represented this as a stratagem to ensnare the persons thus summoned, and the Sogdians, the Scythians on the left bank of the upper Jaxartes, and the Bactrians, flew to arms. Ths Scythians, who took the lead in this revolt, rising suddenly upon the Macedonian garrisons, put them to death, and then shut themselves up in the seven Scythian towns which they had occupied.

Measures were instantly taken by Alexander to avert the consequences of this revolt. He despatched Craterus to invest Cyropolis, while he himself marched to Gaza, the nearest town. Gaza was taken by assault, and its inhabitants slaughtered. A second town shared the same fate on the next day; upon which the inhabitants of the other towns, except Cyropolis, fled from their homes, and were nearly all destroyed by the Macedonian cavalry. Alexander concentrated his forces

now against Cyropolis, which was defended by 18,000 resolute men, and was well calculated to serve as a place of defence, it having been built by Cyrus to serve as a barrier fortress. The reduction of Cyropolis, indeed, by escalade, would have been a work of much labour and time. Alexander, therefore, was pleased to find, that the channels of a narrow stream, which ran through the city, was dry, and that it was possible to effect an entrance there. Through this he entered, at the head of a chosen band, and succeeded in throwing open a gate for the admission of his whole force. A fearful struggle ensued; but the Scythians were finally overpowered. Eight thousand men were slain, and the rest, after having in vain sought refuge in the citadel, surrendered. The prisoners were kept in chains till they could be removed from the province, Alexander having determined that not one who had taken part in the revolt should remain in Sogdiana.

While Alexander was thus engaged, enemies were starting up against him on every hand. The hitherto unconquered Massagetes* came down from the north of the Jexartes, and posted themselves on the right bank of the river, whence they constantly annoyed the Greeks by gibes and demonstrations of hostility. At the same time, news arrived from Maracanda that Spitamenes was in arms, had seized upon the capital, and was besieging the citadel. Alexander, however, would not forego the designs he had formed; he despatched relief to the city mentioned, and prepared for operations against the Scythians. Resolving to take vengeance upon them, he ordered rafts of stuffed skins to be constructed for the passage of the Jaxartes. But wrath had made him blind to danger which his officers foresaw. They were reluctant to commit the honour and safety of the Grecian army to a doubtful contest, and they gained over Aristander, his favourite diviner, to divert

* It is not possible to fix precisely the geographical site of the Massagetes, but only that it lay somewhere in the vicinity of the Jaxartes. The appellation is Scythian, and signifies, according to Strahlenberg, those Scythians who dwelt on the western side of Imaus; whereas those who dwelt beyond, or to the east of that celebrated range, were called Geth, Getæ, or Getes. According to this, therefore, the Getæs and Massagetes of the Greeks and Romans, the Gog and Magog of the Hebrews, the Jajuje and Majuje of the Arabians, the Gaed-Tschudi and Mad-Tschudi of the Tartars, are synonymous terms and appellatives taken from their relative situation, and therefore applicable to all the pastoral tribes east and west of the vast Imaus. The truth of this cannot be verified; but it is certain that the Tartars who lived eastward of the Beloor Taugh, in eastern Toorkistaun, are denominated Getes, and their country Jetah.

him from his purpose. Again and again he offered sacrifices, and as often assured the king that the omens were inauspicious to the project. But Alexander's wrath could not be restrained. Setting aside the supposed will of the gods, he angrily declared, that it were better to brave the worst of evils, than, after having nearly subdued Asia, to become, like the elder Darius, the sport of the Scythians. On these grounds, he determined to force the passage of the river. Accordingly, he stationed the military engines on the margin of the river, to cover the passage of the troops, and to drive the Scythians to a distance from the right bank. These engines produced the desired effect. Alarmed at the effects of the stones thrown from them, the Scythians retreated into the country, and Alexander and his whole army passed over in rafts to the opposite shore. The first onset of the Macedonians was unfortunate. The Scythians repelled a charge of the auxiliary cavalry and four squadrons of lancers, and encompassing them around, galled them severely with darts. Alexander, however, brought his light troops and three squadrons of the Companion horse to their aid; and he so disposed them, that the Massagetes were prevented from resorting to their favourite manœuvre of enveloping their opponents. This movement succeeded. The Scythians, assailed in front and flank, were overthrown, leaving 1000 dead on the field of battle, and 150 prisoners in the hands of the victor. Curtius states, that sixty Macedonian horse and 100 foot were killed, and 1000 wounded, which proves the bravery of the Massagetes.

In pursuing the vanquished, the conquerors suffered greatly from heat and thirst. Alexander himself, having drunk some water of noxious qualities, was seized with a disorder that endangered his life, which apparently justified the prediction of Aristander, and saved his credit as a diviner.

Soon after this battle, envoys arrived from the Scythian ruler, to explain and apologize for the recent hostilities, which they attributed to some roving and lawless bands that lived by rapine and plunder. Alexander accepted this apology, being well pleased to have such a pretext for avoiding a contest which would have been fraught with danger to his interests.

At this moment, Spitamenes was fast gaining ground. The division of forces which Alexander had sent under the command of Andromachus, Menedemus, Caranus, and Pharnuches, had been defeated by him, and cut off almost to a man. Alexander now resolved to go in person to chastise him. Taking the most active part of his army, in three days he passed

over a distance of ninety miles, and reached Maracanda on the fourth morning. Spitamenes saw his danger, and endeavoured to avoid it. On hearing of Alexander's approach, he retired, to avoid a decisive battle, and pursuit was vain. When the conqueror arrived at the spot where the recent battle was fought, he performed the funeral rites of those who had perished. Afterwards, he wreaked his vengeance on the Sogdians, and desolated the fertile plains on the banks of the Polytimetus, and put numbers of the inhabitants to the sword, to punish them for the assistance they had given to Spitamenes.

These were the last operations of this campaign. Baffled by his antagonist, Alexander put his army into cantonments in Bactria, while he himself established his winter quarters in the Bactrian capital.

While at Bactria, Alexander was joined by reinforcements from Greece and the provinces bordering upon the Mediterranean, to the number of 18,000 men, and native levies swelled the number. He was also joined by Phrataphernes, satrap of Parthia, and Stasanor, who had been sent to suppress the revolt of the Arians, which, after encountering many difficulties, they had accomplished; capturing Arsames, who was at the head of the Arians, Barzanes, whom Bessus had appointed to the satrapy of Parthia, and others of note, whom they brought in chains to Alexander.

During his stay at Bactria, Alexander received an embassy from the new king of the European Scythians, (the sovereign who sent before having died,) bearing valuable presents, and with them came the deputies formerly commissioned by Alexander. These deputies declared the readiness of the Scythian king to obey the commands of Alexander, and offered him his daughter in marriage; or, if that were refused, he proposed to unite the daughters of his principal subjects to the friends and officers of the conqueror. Alexander declined the last offers; but he accepted the Scythian monarch's alliance, and dismissed the ambassadors with due honours.

At the same time, Alexander received an offer of service from Pharasmenes, king of the Chorasmians, who ruled over the territory between the Caspian, the Aral, and Sogdiana, now called Kharasm and Kharism. Arrian says, that this service was offered in case Alexander should think proper to turn his arms in the direction of the Euxine, against the Colchians and Amazons, who were the neighbours of Pharasmenes. But this does not appear probable, for Alexander

was then about to take a different route; his thoughts being wholly bent upon the conquest of India, which would place all Asia under his dominion. Besides, the dominions of Pharasmenes, however far their limits may be stretched in a northerly direction, could not have reached the Euxine. Notwithstanding, it seems to be correct that Pharasmenes was received into the alliance of Alexander at this period.

While the Macedonian army was in winter quarters at Bactria, the fate of Bessus was decided. In a general assembly of officers, Alexander, after reproaching him with treachery to Darius, ordered that his nose and ears should be cut off, and that he should be sent to Ecbatana, to receive his final judgment from a council composed of Medes and Persians; by which council he was ordered to be slain in a barbarous manner.* The conduct of Alexander towards Bessus doubtless, arose from his rebellion after the death of Darius, and not from his treachery towards that monarch; for other traitors had been received into favour, on laying down their arms. The reference to his treachery may, indeed, be considered as a cloke whereby to hide the animosity of Alexander; and the previous mutilation of him an act of gratuitous cruelty, since he must have been well assured that Bessus would not be spared by the Persians. The truth is, Alexander was now fast descending into a vortex of crime, and his conduct on this occasion was an indication of the state of his mind. His next act, however, was more openly flagrant, and afforded a more certain criterion of his downward progress in the paths of vice and crime.

It had been the custom of the Macedonians to observe an annual festival in honour of Bacchus† or Dionysius, on which occasion Alexander had always joined in sacrifice. From some unknown cause, he this year ceased to pay reverence to the son of Semele, and transferred the honour of this festival to the *Dioscuri*, Castor and Pollux,‡ to whom he ordered

* The manner of his death is variously related; but all writers agree that it was cruel.

† There were three gods of this name. This was the son of Jupiter and Semele, called the Bacchus of Thebes. The rites of the whole appear to have been the same. They were composed of one continued scene of licentiousness: even the civilized Greeks gave themselves up, on these occasions, to lewdness, extravagances, and debaucheries of the most fearful nature.

‡ In heathen mythology, these were twin brothers, sons of Jupiter, by Leda, wife of Tyndarus, king of Sparta. They were generally called *Dioscuri*, sons of Jupiter. White lambs were offered on their altars,

that the rites should in future be dedicated. The wine flowed profusely at the feast; and, while maddened by its effects, the conversation of the guests turned on the *Dioscuri*, and wonder was expressed why they were denominated *Dioscuri*, or sons of Jupiter, it being notorious that Tyndarus, a mortal, was their father. These sentiments were introduced by some one skilled in the art of flattery; for it manifestly bore reference to the king, and led to his exaltation by the company. Some of them maintained that the exploits of Castor and Pollux were not worthy to be compared with those of Alexander; while others raised him above Hercules, and lamented, that while mankind adored the memories of the dead, envy should prevent them from offering due honours to the living.

Clitus, who had saved the life of Alexander at the battle of the Granicus, and who held the confidential command of half the Companion cavalry, was among the number of this convivial company. For some time, he had beheld with regret the change which had taken place in the manners and conduct of Alexander, and his indignation was raised to the utmost by this flattery of the courtiers. He reprobated the indignities offered to the gods, and the detraction of ancient heroes to swell the pride of a prince, who was principally indebted to the Macedonians for his conquests and fame. The monarch was irritated by these reflections; and the courtiers, to soothe his anger, resumed his praises in a strain still more offensive to Clitus. They magnified his actions beyond those of his father Philip; and Clitus, who had fought under the slighted monarch, and revered his memory, retaliated by eulogizing Philip, and depreciating Alexander. The monarch's wrath waxed still more warm; and when at length Clitus reminded him that he had saved his life at the battle of the Granicus, his rage knew no bounds, and he rushed upon the offender with intent to kill him. The guests interposed, to prevent the deadly deed; but maddened still further by restraint, he summoned his guards to aid him; and finding that they did not appear, he complained that he was reduced to the same condition with Darius, when in the hands of Bessus —that he was the shadow of a king. In the meanwhile, Clitus was hurried away from the banquet by his friends, and placed under the care of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. The veteran, however, loosing himself from restraint, returned,

and the ancients were fond of swearing by the divinity of the *Dioscuri* Like the rites of Bacchus, the rites of the *Dioscuri* were grossly profane.

when Alexander, snatching a pike from an attending soldier, laid him dead at his feet.*

Plutarch and other writers relate, that the sight of Clitus, stretched bleeding and lifeless before him, produced such an effect on the mind of Alexander, that he would have sought to atone for his crime by a voluntary death, had he not been prevented by his attendants. This, however, admits of a doubt. When a man has indulged in an excess of wine, the blood boils over, and his passions are so violent, that they are not thus readily calmed. But if Alexander did not see his crime at the moment, when the delirium of intoxication had passed away, his mental anguish was extreme. Extended on his couch, weeping bitterly, and sobbing forth the names of Clitus and Lannice,† he reproached himself for the murder of his friend, and for this ill requital of the maternal tenderness of his nurse, and the loss of her two sons, who had died fighting for him in the field of battle. For three days, he confined himself to his chamber, refusing to listen to comfort, or to take food. While thus affected, had honest counsel and consolation been administered to him, his after conduct might have been improved. Such, however, was not the case. The soldiers, to soothe him, condemned Clitus, and prohibited his interment, thereby justifying the act. The priests of Bacchus attributed the event to the wrath of Dionysius, excited

* This is Arrian's version of the story. Plutarch gives the following: "When the guests were warmed with drinking, some of the company began to sing the verses of one Pranicus, or, as others say, of Priero, written in ridicule of the Macedonian officers who had lately been defeated by the barbarians. The veterans in the company were greatly offended at it, and condemned both the poet and those who sang his strains; but Alexander and his courtiers listened with pleasure, and bade them proceed. Clitus, who was naturally rough and forward, and made still more so by wine, resented this behaviour. He remarked, 'It was not well to make a jest, among barbarians and enemies, of Macedonians, they being better men, though they had met with a misfortune, than those who thus sported with them.' Alexander replied, 'That Clitus was pleading his own cause when he gave cowardice the tender name of misfortune.' Clitus was enraged at this, and rejoined, 'Yet it was this cowardice which saved you, son of Jupiter though you be, when you were turning your back to the sword of Spithridates. It is by the blood of the Macedonians, and these wounds, that you are grown so great as to disown your father Philip, and to pass yourself off for the son of Jupiter Ammon.'" Then followed the catastrophe.

It may be mentioned, that the relation of Curtius nearly agrees with that of Plutarch, and that Justin relates, in a few words, that Alexander killed his friend Clitus for extolling the deeds of his father Philip.

† Lannice was the sister of Clitus, and had been the nurse of Alexander in his infancy.

by the discontinuance of his sacrifices, which soothing doctrine was willingly listened to by the king. Transformed in his own sight from a criminal into a victim and instrument of the deity, he suffered himself to be prevailed on to take nourishment, and then sacrificed to Bacchus. The removal of his sorrow, however, is attributed to Anaxarchus, a philosopher of Abdera. Seeing Alexander still under the influence of grief, "Is this," said he, "the same Alexander whom the world so much admires? Behold him weeping, like an abject slave, for fear of the law and the reproach of men, to whom he himself ought to be a law and the measure of equity, since he conquered for no other end but to make himself lord of all, and not to be a slave to the world's opinion. Do not you know that Jupiter is represented sitting on his throne, with law assisting on one side and justice on the other? So let a prince do what he will, his actions are just and lawful." These slavish maxims, which prove Anaxarchus to have been fit for serving a despot, had their effects: Alexander dried up his tears, and pursued his unhallowed career.

The conduct of Alexander, on this occasion, reads a lesson on the evils of drunkenness. What misbehaviour, what outrage, and how many murders, may we not lay to the charge of this vice! Reader, when you sit down to a feast, remember that Alexander killed his friend Clitus, and burned the finest city in the world, in a fit of drunkenness. A man, intoxicated, is placed at the mercy of almost every accident. Reason flies before the fumes of wine, and to part with one's reason when we have need of an enlargement of that faculty, is like breaking the compass, and throwing the pilot overboard in the storm. And then, what remorse follows in the train! Look at Alexander for a confirmation of this fact. He who had overthrown the mightiest empire that had existed, overthown himself by the power of wine, wept and groaned as a culprit for evil deeds, and sought comfort at the hands of his subjects. And miserable comforters were they all! His priests and philosophers found him deep in the vortex of crime, and they plunged him lower down. Like too many, even in our own day, they cried, Peace, Peace, when there was no peace, and thus paved the way for future crimes. By the gross flattery of his comforters, indeed, he was shortly after, as will be seen, led to think himself a god, and to require the adoration of his followers.

The return of spring, B. C. 328, found Alexander resuming his unfinished conquests. The Sogdians, who had been

hardly pressed in the preceding campaign, and had yielded a feigned submission, by this time had joined those whom he had failed in reducing, and the entire province was again in a state of revolt. The flame, also, had spread to Bactria. Dividing his forces, therefore, Alexander left four divisions under Polyphercon, Attalus, Gorgias, and Meleager, to keep down Bactria, while he marched with the rest to Sogdiana. The wide-spread insurrection, however, required a still further division of his army. Accordingly, after he crossed the Oxus, Alexander divided it into five other parts, four of which were placed under the command of Hephæstion, Ptolemy the son of Lagus, Perdiccas, and Cœnus, with whom was Artabazus, who were ordered to penetrate and overrun the country in different directions; while he himself, with the fifth portion, penetrated to Maracanda.

Although Alexander was detained in Sogdiana for a whole year, little is recorded of the occurrences of that year. The first movements of these five columns appear to have been successful; for after having traversed the country, and reduced many forts, they formed a junction at Maracanda. Still, Spitamenes was not discovered, and nothing decisive, therefore, occurred. It was believed, that he had taken refuge among the Scythians, and a division under Cœnus and Artabazus was despatched to provide against danger in that quarter, while Hephæstion was commissioned to establish colonies in those cities from whence the natives had been expelled, in order to be ready for the suppression of any revolt.

The supposition concerning Spitamenes was erroneous. While he was believed to be skirmishing beyond the Jaxartes, he suddenly appeared at the head of the Sogdians and 600 Massagetes, in Bactria, where he surprised a fortress, and put governor and garrison to the sword, and then advanced to the vicinity of Bactra, or Zariaspa, the capital. The only Macedonians in the capital able to assume the command were Pithon, the chief of the king's house-hold, and Aristonicus a minstrel. These, seeing the enemy's troops were divided, fell upon the Massagetes, and recovered the booty; but as they were returning to the city, Spitamenes sallied forth from an ambush, and destroyed them all.

This defeat was revenged by Craterus. Immediately he received the intelligence, he pursued the Massagetes, who had been joined by 1000 of their companions, and were retiring towards the desert, and destroyed 150 of their number.

The victory, however, was barren of advantage; for the rest of the Massagetes sought and found a safe asylum in their native country.

The career of Spitamenes was now fast drawing to a close. Venturing, at the head of his Persian followers and 3000 Scythian cavalry, to invade Sogdiana again, Cœnus, who had been entrusted with the defence of the eastern frontier of that province, attacked him, and after a severe conflict, routed his army and destroyed 800 of his cavalry. Discouraged by this defeat, most of the Sogdian and Bactrian troops submitted to Cœnus; and the Scythians, hearing that the Macedonian monarch was marching against them, cut off the head of Spitamenes, and sent it to Alexander, as a pledge of their future peaceful intentions.

The spirit of resistance was not yet wholly suppressed; but the inclemency of the season compelled both parties to sheath the sword. Alexander established his head quarters at Nantaca, in the vicinity of Maracanda.

About this time, Artabazus, who was of a great age, solicited to be relieved from the burden of a disturbed satrapy, like that of Bactria, and Amyntas was accordingly appointed in his stead. The Tapeirian and Median satraps, also, who had exhibited signs of revolt, were superseded. Stasanor, likewise, was placed over the Drangians; and the satrapy of Babylon becoming vacant by the death of Mazæus, it was intrusted to Stamenes.

Among the principal leaders of the opposition to Alexander may be reckoned Oxyartes, a Bactrian chief, who had originally submitted to the Macedonian sway, but who had again espoused the cause of his countrymen. Keeping the field himself, he secured his wife and daughters in a Sogdian hill fort, supposed to be impregnable.* At the opening of the spring, B. C. 327, Alexander led his army against this rock, which he found to be almost precipitous on every side, and covered with snow. Oxyartes had furnished it with an abundance of provisions, and the garrison was numerous, great numbers of the Sogdians having fled thither for safety. Despairing of taking it by force, Alexander summoned the defenders to surrender, promising that they should be suffered to return to their houses. Confident in the strength of their position, they asked deridingly if he was provided with winged soldiers; for they feared no others. Irritated by this reply,

* The situation of this fort is unknown, but one of this description still exists on the Kara Tesse mountains, eastward of Samarcand.

he resolved, at all hazards, to reduce the garrison to submission. Proclamation was therefore made, that liberal rewards would be given to the first twelve soldiers who could ascend the rock. The first man was to have a reward of twelve talents, (2712*l.*,) and so on, in proportion, to the last, who was promised three hundred darics, (375*l.*) These prizes attracted numerous volunteers; and from the crowds who pressed forward, three hundred were chosen for the service. At the approach of night, these adventurers marched secretly to the steepest side of the hill, which, being the least guarded, was chosen as the scene of their enterprise. To enable them to ascend, they carried ropes and iron pins, used to fasten the cords of the tents to the ground. By driving these pins into the crevices, or frozen snow, and tying the ropes to them, a kind of ladder was formed. Thirty of the band perished in the attempt; but, before daybreak, the remainder reached the summit, and as soon as it was light, they gave the signal which announced their success. Alexander now sent a herald to summon the besieged to surrender, without delay, to the "winged soldiers" on the top of the rock; and the enemy, astonished at the sight, and thinking the party more numerous than they really were, surrendered at discretion.

It was the wish of Alexander to put an end to the war in the northern provinces as speedily as possible. To facilitate the consummation of this wish, he married Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, who was among the captives, and the most beautiful woman in Asia, next to the wife of Darius. This was sound policy; for Oxyartes, as soon as he was informed of the honour conferred upon his daughter, laid down his arms, and hastened to the Macedonian camp; and Bactria appears from that time to have been faithful to its new monarch.

One more noted leader only remained to be subjugated, and Alexander's victories would be complete in this quarter. This leader's name was Chorienes, and he occupied a post of similar configuration and strength to that just described, in the province of Parætacene, supposed by some geographers to have been in the north-west, and by others in the north-east of Sogdiana. To this country Alexander now led his army, and he commenced operations by investing this stronghold. Arrian says, that this rock was steep and rugged on all sides, and four miles in circumference at the basis, whence the summit could be reached only by a single path, a mile in length, and so narrow, that only one person could pass at a time up the passage. The difficulty of access was increased

by a broad and deep ditch, or gulf, which surrounded the rock. Over this, however, with great labour and difficulty, Alexander's army made a bridge of piles, on which a platform was constructed, to support covered galleries, serving as casemates and bridges. The besieged ridiculed the attempt; but the structure was at length brought to such an altitude, and so well sheltered, that the Macedonians were enabled to annoy their enemies with missiles, without being exposed to theirs in return. Still, had Chorienes been resolved to hold out to the last, the Macedonians would have had much to do and much to suffer. Chorienes, however, foreseeing the final result, sent a messenger to the hostile camp, desiring a conference with Oxyartes; and upon his advice, he surrendered the place, in the government of which Alexander reinstated him, and also of the surrounding territory.

Before Alexander returned, Chorienes had an opportunity of ingratiating himself still more in his favour. Winter still reigned around his rocky fortress, and a heavy fall of snow covered the ground, whence the Macedonian army began to be straitened for provisions. The scarcity was removed by Chorienes, who opened his magazines, and supplied them with provisions for two months, at the end of which time he declared that not one-tenth of the stores were exhausted which he had provided for the maintenance of his garrison in case of a blockade. This assertion increased the confidence placed in him by Alexander, as it showed that inclination, rather than present fear, led him to surrender to the conqueror.

There was still a remnant of insurgents in Parætacene; but Alexander left Craterus to quench these last embers of resistance, which he did effectually, and as soon as the weather permitted, he returned to Bactria.

The poet Cowper has remarked—

> An earthquake may be bid to spare
> The man that's strangled with a hair;

signifying that danger lurks unseen, and that death approaches, sometimes when least expected.

It was not in the battle field alone that Alexander was exposed to dangers. Doubled as these were by his own intemperance of valour, his recent conduct in sacrificing Parmenio and Philotas, and his adoption of the Persian manners, had created for him more dangerous foes within the heart of his own camp than he met with in the field of battle. On his return to Bactria, when not an enemy remained to dispute his

right to the Persian diadem, he who had so long braved the weapons of the valiant, was on the point of falling beneath the daggers of six youths, who were confidential attendants upon his person.

Alexander had fifty of these youths in waiting upon his person; and their duties were, to attend him in the field, at his exercises, when at table, and when he retired to rest. One day, while Alexander was hunting the wild boar in Bactria, one of these pages, Hermolaus, son of Sopolis, killed the beast which the monarch was about to strike. Provoked with the act, Alexander ordered the boy to be scourged with rods, and the horse taken from him. This disgrace sank deep into the heart of Hermolaus, and he resolved to revenge himself on the monarch. He communicated his purpose to his intimate friend Sostratus, son of Amyntas, who entered into his designs; and, working in the dark together, they gained over four more of their companions, namely, Antipater, son of Asclepiodorus; Epimenes, son of Arses; Anticles, son of Theocritus; and Philotas, the son of Carsis, a Thracian. The result of the consultations of these youths was, that, on the night when Antipater would be on guard, Alexander should be assassinated while he slept.

It does not appear that the conspirators relented when the time arrived for the execution of their dark deed; nor is it probable that Alexander could have escaped; but the king continuing his carousal till break of day, the design was frustrated.* Still he continued ignorant of the existence of the conspirators' project, and they might yet have carried it into execution, had they not destroyed it by an attempt to obtain the co-operation of others. On the morning after their disappointment, Epimenes disclosed their design to Charicles, son of Menander, who communicated the particulars to Eurylochus, the brother of Epimenes, and he conveyed the intelligence to Ptolemy, son of Lagus, by whom it was laid before Alexander. The conspirators were seized, and put to the

* There was nothing wonderful in the protracted revelry of Alexander; but, fond of the marvellous, the Greeks have invented a miracle for his escape. Aristobulus says, that a Syrian woman, who pretended to the gift of prophecy, attended the camp of Alexander, and being high in favour, was admitted at all hours into his tent. On the night destined for his murder, this woman met him as he was retiring from the banquet and conjured him to return, and remain at the festal board till the morning. Believing from her frantic gestures, that she was prompted by a superior power, Alexander followed the advice, and his life was thereby preserved.

torture, under the pressure of which they confessed their guilt; after which, they were taken before the assembled Macedonians, by whose sentence they were adjudged to be stoned to death.

Previous to this transaction, Alexander revealed the design he had long meditated, namely, to have divine honours paid to him. He was anxious not only to be called the son of Jupiter, as he had long been by his flatterers, but to be worshipped as such. How strong his desire was to be thus exalted in the sight of man, may be gathered from the means to which he descended for the attainment of his object. He appointed a festival, to which he invited the greatest lords of the court, Macedonians, Greeks, and Persians. It had been agreed upon before by the sophists, and the principal Medes and Persians, in conjunction with Alexander, that while the wine was freely flowing at this feast, the subject of adoration should be introduced, and this claim vindicated. Anaxarchus, a man well fitted for the task, was to use his power of eloquence on this occasion; and, to increase the chance of success, some officers were gained over to perform the prostration at the close of his speech, in hopes that the force of example, and the fumes of the wines, would induce the remainder of the guests to imitate their conduct.

The wine had been freely circulated when Anaxarchus began his speech. He told his hearers that Alexander was more worthy of divine honours than Bacchus and Hercules, inasmuch as his actions and conquests far surpassed theirs. He said, also, that Bacchus was a Theban; and though he admitted that Hercules was a Greek, and without reproach, yet he affirmed that he was equally unconnected with the Macedonians, except as being an ancestor of Alexander. Hence he argued, that it was more just to pay divine honours to Alexander than to them, especially as he would at his death be numbered among their deities. Was it not, then, he asked, more in unison with reason to perform adoration to him while living, rather than reserve it to a period when he could neither derive from it advantage nor pleasure.

The speech of Anaxarchus was followed by the plaudits of those who were in the secret, who readily acquiesced in its demands. But it was not so with the majority of the Macedonians. They listened to the proposal with disapprobation; and Callisthenes, the Olynthian philosopher, in a speech fraught with sense, eloquence, and spirit, boldly controverted the slavish doctrines taught by Anaxarchus. In concluding

his speech, Callisthenes thus apostrophized Alexander: "If being few in number, it is supposed that we ought to adopt the manners of the barbarians, bethink thee, Alexander, of Greece, for whose sake this enterprise was undertaken; the purport of it being to subject Asia to Greece, not Greece to Asia. Canst thou hope for adoration from the Greeks? Or wilt thou exempt the Greeks, and inflict this insult only on the Macedonians? Or wilt thou be honoured as a mortal by the Greeks and Macedonians, and as a god by the barbarians? Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, was the first who was thus worshipped, and the same tribute has been paid to succeeding Persian monarchs; but forget not that the Scythians chastised Cyrus; that others chastised Darius Hystaspes; that Xerxes was humiliated by the Greeks, and Artaxerxes by ten thousand men under Clearchus and Xenophon; and, finally, that Darius was overthrown by thyself as a man."

The speech of Callisthenes was heard by the Macedonians with delight, but by Alexander with displeasure. For the moment, however, he restrained his resentment, and the ceremony of adoration was proceeded with. The signal being given, each Persian of rank rose in succession, and saluted their sovereign in their usual manner. One of them, having exceeded his fellows in his prostration, was ridiculed by Leonnatus, a Macedonian of eminence, which excited the displeasure of Alexander, and he was thrown into prison. After the Persians had paid their adorations, it came to the turn of the Greeks. It was the practice among them at festivals to pass round the cup, for the whole of the guests to drink therefrom. On this occasion, Alexander filled a golden cup, drank, and then sent it to one of the Macedonians who had agreed to adopt the Persian mode of doing reverence. The convert drank, prostrated himself, and then interchanged kisses in the Grecian manner, which was done by the rest of those who had pledged themselves to the act. The cup was presented to Callisthenes, who drank, and advanced to kiss the king. Alexander, who at that moment was conversing with Hephæstion, had not remarked the omission of the Persian ceremony, and being informed of it, he refused the salutation of the philosopher, upon which Callisthenes withdrew, calmly remarking, "I only lose a kiss."

That was his momentary loss; but Alexander noted in his memory the opposition of Callisthenes to his exaltation as a god, and secretly resolved to revenge himself upon him as a man. An opportunity occurred for the display of his ven-

geance, when the youthful conspirators before described were put to death. Callisthenes had been tutor to Hermolaus, and he was charged with being a participator in the conspiracy. Whether he was really connected with it, or whether it was a pretext for sacrificing him, is not certain. Some authors assert that he prompted Hermolaus to the deed; while Arrian and Plutarch infer that he was the victim of Alexander's hatred. His death, also, is a mystery; for while Aristobulus represents him as having been carried about in chains with the army till he died a natural death, Ptolemy affirms that he was first put to the rack, and then hanged.

Seneca, moralizing upon the conduct of Alexander in putting Callisthenes to death, says: "This is an eternal reproach to Alexander, and so dreadful a crime, that no virtue, no military exploit, can ever efface its infamy. If it is said, in favour of Alexander, that he was victorious over a number of Persians; that he slew the most powerful king of the earth; conquered many provinces and nations; penetrated as far as the ocean, and extended the bounds of his empire from the remotest part of Thrace to the extremities of the east;—I answer, 'Yes; but he murdered Callisthenes;' a crime of such magnitude, that it obliterates the glory of all his other actions." The death of Callisthenes truly reflects disgrace upon the character of Alexander. He alone, unshaken, unseduced, unterrified, had courage enough to give that prince wholesome counsels. His whole life was a tacit reproof to the base flatterers that swarmed in the court of Alexander; and his high moral conduct, with the solidity of his understanding and extent of his knowledge, was worthy a philosopher. Happy had it been for Alexander had he listened to this stern moralist; for he would have afforded him at least light sufficient to guide him in the paths of moral rectitude. But truth rarely pierces those clouds raised by the authority of the great and the flattery of courtiers, and Alexander was at this period surrounded by such clouds. He smote his best friend; for those who dare to tell the truth to, and point out the errors of the great, are their best friends. This was a great error, as well as a great crime. By it Alexander deprived all virtuous men of the opportunity of pointing out his true interests. From that instant, indeed, no one spoke with freedom in the council. Even those who had the love of the public welfare at heart, and a personal affection for Alexander, held their peace for fear; and nothing was listened to but gross adulation, which was eventually his ruin.

As Christians, we must look upon these transactions in a different light. Alexander's unhallowed wish to be deemed a god, and his revenge upon Callisthenes for reminding him that he was but man, afford two of the most notable illustrations of the corruption of the human heart in the wide range of history. It is a Scripture truth, "God hath made man upright; but they have sought out many inventions," Eccles. vii. 29. One of the most flagrant of these inventions is, the deification of those whom the world calls heroes. Men who have been a scourge to the human race, who have slaughtered their species by tens of thousands, and destroyed the fair face of God's creation, and the beautiful works of genius and art—men who, because they possessed brute force and animal courage above the rest of mankind, are nevertheless exalted to the skies as gods! The Creator forgotten; the creature exalted! That God from whom all the nations of the earth derive life and being unadored; and those who have slaughtered those nations, and trampled upon the breath of life which he breathed upon them, worshipped! This is an unnatural anomaly in the pages of history. And yet it is true. It is indelibly stamped upon those pages, and can never be effaced from them. Read it, ye who exalt your species as approaching the Divine, and be ashamed for human nature! Read it, Christians; and while you weep over the perversity of the human heart, and the human intellect, pray for that day when all shall know and revere, love and obey the Most High God.

INDIAN EXPEDITION.

The empire of Persia being subdued to his yoke, and the wrongs of Greece thereby avenged tenfold, it might have been expected that Alexander would have crowned his glory by a wise and just administration of the dominions he had secured. Such was not the issue of his conquests. The poet says:

> Great princes have great playthings. Some have played
> At hewing mountains into men, and some
> At building human wonders mountain high.
> Some have amused the dull sad years of life
> (Life spent in indolence, and therefore sad,)
> With schemes of monumental fame; and sought,
> By pyramids and mausoleum pomp,
> Short-lived themselves, to' immortalize their bones.
> Some seek diversion in the tented field,
> And make the sorrows of mankind their sport.—COWPER.

To this latter class of princes Alexander belonged. War had become to him a species of gaming, and his existence appears to have been a burden to him, when unsupported by this soul and body destroying stimulus. Long before he had subdued the northern provinces, Alexander projected the invasion of India; and as soon as he was at liberty, he commenced his preparations for this enterprise.

Notwithstanding, it must not be supposed that Alexander was void of motive in his project upon India, otherwise than conquest over his species. Heeren says: "Alexander's expedition against India had, no doubt, its origin in that propensity to romantic enterprise which constituted a main feature in his character. Yet what could be more natural than that a close view of Persian splendour, the conquest of such wealthy countries, and the desire of prosecuting his vast commercial designs, should generally mature in the mind of the Macedonian king the plan of subjecting a country which was represented as the golden land of Asia. To this, likewise, the scantiness of geographic information must have greatly contributed: if he pressed forward to the eastern seas, the circle of his dominion would, it was supposed, be complete. It appears very certain, that Alexander was destitute of a sufficient knowledge of the country when he entered upon this expedition."

Before Alexander proceeded to the scene of his future exploits, he received an embassy from Taxiles,* who ruled over the tract between the Indus and the Hydaspes, which now forms the northern part of the province of Lahore, inhabited by the Guckers. The declared purport of this embassy was, to acknowledge the supremacy of the Macedonian monarch, and to tender his co-operation in reducing the Indians who were hostile to him; his real motive, however, was, doubtless, to obtain protection from his enemies, particularly Astes, on his western, and Porus, on his eastern frontier. Alexander gladly availed himself of the friendship of Taxiles; for by it he secured an unmolested passage over the Indus, and a firm basis for his operations in India, while the necessity of reducing the country between the Indus and Hydaspes was obviated.

Alexander commenced his march from Bactria in the summer of B. C. 327. His army is said to have consisted of

* This is the name by which this prince is historically known, but he is called Mophis by Diodorus, and Omphis by Curtius; names differing only by the transposition of the first two letters.

120,000 men. He passed the Paropamisan defiles in ten days, and came to his colony of Alexandria, and displaced the governor for negligence, appointing Nicanor in his stead. From Alexandria, he advanced to a city denominated Nicæa* by the Greeks, where he sacrificed to Minerva. From Nicæa, Alexander despatched a herald with a summons to Taxiles and the chiefs westward of the Indus, to meet him wherever he might be encamped, which summons was obeyed by Taxiles, and by almost all the chiefs on the right bank of the Choes, or Caubul river. They came and offered their submission, bringing costly presents in token of respect. They also promised to furnish him with twenty-five elephants.

After he had received the submission of these chiefs, Alexander divided his army, in order to take possession of the country on both sides of the Caubul, as far as the Indus. That portion which was intended to traverse the territory on the right bank was assigned to Hephæstion and Perdiccas, who were accompanied by Taxiles and the other chiefs, and who, on reaching the Indus,† were to make preparations for the passage of the whole army. The only opposition to their progress was made by Astes, chief of the Pencelaotis, a territory in the vicinity of Indus, who threw himself into one of

* Rennel places the Nicæa of the Greeks on the river Bungush, and identifies it with Nughz, or Nagaz; while Wilford places it on the river of Caubul, and maintains that the capital of the Nughz district is Bughz, or Bughzan, and the name of the district itself, Iryab.

† The Indus was esteemed by the ancients the largest river in the world, next to the Ganges, the Nile and the Danube being inferior to it. It is formed by the junction of two mountain streams called the Eekung-Tchu, and the Sing-Tchu, in the Tibetian language, corresponding to the La-Tchu of Du Halde. It is impossible to fix the sources of the Eekung-Tchu; but the river of Ghortope, called the Sing-Tchu, originates at the northern foot of the Caillas, or great snowy range north of the Himalaya, or rather its northern branch, in 31° 25′, north latitude, and 80° 30′, east longitude; twenty-five miles direct south of Ghortope, in the map of Moorcroft.

To the magnificence of the Indus the poet Thomson alludes.

> Scarce the Muse
> Dares stretch her wings o'er the' enormous mass
> Of rushing water, to whose dread expanse,
> Continuous depth and wondrous length of course,
> Our floods are rills.

The basin of the Indus is estimated at 400,000 square miles, being to that of the Thames as 72 1-2 to one; its length, at 2070 miles, or 11 1-2 to that of the Thames; its annual discharge 133 to one; and its average discharge per second of time, 239,400 cubical feet. The annexed table of

his strongholds, and bade them defiance. After a siege of thirty days, however, the town was taken by assault and Astes was slain in the conflict.

Alexander, who traversed the left bank of the Caubul, had more formidable foes, and greater difficulties to contend with. Between the river and the Hindhoo Kho, on the northern frontier, the country, which consists of rugged valleys penetrating into the recesses of the mountains, was inhabited by various tribes who mocked at danger, and abhorred subjection. Like the Afghans who now possess the country, they were content with alarms, discord, and blood, but could not endure a master. It was with such men as these that Alexander had to contend. Passing a river, probably the modern Ghoorbund, or Punjsheer, he entered the territory of the Aspians, Thyrians, and the Arasaces; nations whose modern

the breadth and depth of the Indus may be interesting to the reader. It is taken from Pottinger's Journal, published in 1816.

Table of the depth and breadth of the Indus.

Lat.	Places.	Depth.		Breadth.
		Dry Season.	Wet Season.	Dry Season.
33. 55.....	Attock.....	.....	.....	260 yards
33. 7.....	Kallabaugh.....	.....	.....	280 yards
31. 52.....	Dera Ismael Khan....	2 fath....	.....	1000 yards
31. 28.....	Kaharee.....	2 fath....	.....	1200 yards
29 54.....	Dera Ghazi Khan.....	3 fath....	7 fath....	1000 yards
29. 20.....	Rajunpoor.....	3 fath....	7 fath....	1400 yards
28. 27.....	Conf. of the five rivers.	8 fath....	16 fath....	2200 yards
27. 13.....	Bhukor.....	5 fath....	10 fath....	1600 yards
26. 6.....	Sehwan.....	3 fath....	6 fath....	900 yards
25. 22.....	Hyderabad.....	5 fath....	8 fath....	2000 yards
25. 9.....	Fullallee river.....	5 fath....	10 fath....	2220 yards
24. 44.....	Tatta.....	4 fath....	6 fath....	1800 yards
24. 40.....	Peer Pulta.....	7 fath....	18 fath....	700 yards
24. 32.....	Lahoree Bunder.....	11 fath....	16 fath....	4 miles
24. 29.....	Dharajey Bunder.....	13 fath....	16 fath....	9 miles
24. 8.....	Extreme mouth.....	13 fath....	16 fath....	12 miles

The Indus, it may be mentioned, enters the ocean seventy-nine miles below Tatta, in one vast body; for though the Goonee and three or four other small rivers separate from the main trunk, and fall into the sea by different channels, yet they are, properly speaking, mere creeks, varying according to the state of the tide or river, and overgrown with thick jungles of mangrove.

names and sites are unknown. Receiving intelligence that the natives were retiring into their strongholds and mountain recesses, he hastened with his cavalry to prevent them. He found the enemy drawn up beneath the walls of the first town to oppose him. But resistance was vain. By a vigorous charge, they were first driven into the place, and then by assault they were driven from thence to the mountains with great slaughter.

Leaving Craterus to reduce this district, Alexander proceeded with the main portion of his army towards the Euaspla, which waters the valley of Oosbeen, where the prince of the Aspians was encamped. On approaching their principal city, the Aspians set fire to it, and withdrew to the mountains. They were pursued thither by the Macedonians, and the Aspian chief, rallying his troops on an eminence, offered them battle. Much valour was displayed by him; but he was slain by Ptolemy, and after a sanguinary struggle to obtain his corse, his followers retired over the mountains, burning, in their retreat, the town of Agrigæum, the inhabitants of which joined them for the purpose of making a valiant stand in defence of their country. For this purpose, they concentrated the whole of their forces on a high and extensive mountain. Ptolemy was sent to reconnoitre them, and he reported that their camp fires were more numerous than those of the Greeks, whence he inferred that their forces were numerically superior. Still Alexander pressed forward. Leaving a portion of his army to guard the camp, he formed the remainder into three divisions, two of which were commanded by Ptolemy and Leonnatus, and the third by himself. The assaults was made on three sides of the mountain at the same time; and notwithstanding the Indians fought bravely, some of them boldly descending into the plain to meet their foes, they were defeated. Arrian says, that 40,000 prisoners fell into the hands of the Greeks; and that among the spoil were 200,000 neat cattle of a fine species, the best of which Alexander sent to Macedonia, to improve the Macedonian breed.

After this victory, Alexander pursued his march to the Guræus, signifying a mountain river, beyond which was the territory of the Assakenes. This river, which is the modern Kashkaur, is much larger than the streams he had recently crossed. Its ancient name is supposed to be an appellative, from the Pooshtoo word Ghur, a mountain; and it has all the characteristics of a mountain stream, being rapid, rocky, and

full of stones, and pursuing its whole course through mountains, from the snowy hill of Pooshtikur, in north latitude 38 and east longitude 73, to the valley of the Caubul river, eighty-five miles above its junction with the Indus. The Assakenes, who seem to have dwelt to the east of the river, and whose territory corresponds to the modern district of Ashenagur, made a show of resistance on the left bank of the river; but fearing the issue of a battle, they retired to their strongholds. Alexander, therefore, proceeded, unopposed, till he reached Massaga, now Mashnagur, two marches south-east of Bajour, the capital. When he arrived there, the garrison, which had been reinforced by 7000 hired auxiliaries from a distant part of India, sallied forth to offer battle. A brief conflict ensued, in which Alexander was wounded in one of his feet by an arrow; but the Indians were put to flight, with the loss of 200 slain.

The day after his arrival, Alexander brought up his battering machines, and commenced the siege of Massaga. As the walls were only of earth, a breach was soon effected, and the Greeks advanced to the assault. They were, however, driven back by the determined spirit of the garrison, and a second, third, and fourth assault ended in the same results. At last, their chief being slain, the auxiliaries sent out a herald, offering to capitulate, and it was agreed that they should enter into the service of Alexander. For this purpose, they marched out of the city, and halted on a small hill opposite to the Macedonian camp.

A dark deed, which reflects deep disgrace on the character of Alexander, ensued. In utter defiance of the faith of this treaty, he surrounded these brave Indians with his army, and put them all to the sword. After this massacre, which exhibits both perfidy and cruelty in their darkest colours, Alexander took possession of Massaga. Arrian says, that only twenty-five of the Macedonians were slain during the whole of this contest; but the stern resistance they had met with renders this impossible.

Alexander next marched towards Baziri, a city north-west of Massaga, corresponding to the Bigore of Rennel, and the Bajour of Elphinstone. On his way thither, he learned that Ora was determined to resist, and that it had been reinforced by a body of Indians; and he turned aside to reduce it. The town of Ora was carried at the first assault, and its capture so discouraged the Bazirians, that they abandoned their town in the night, and sought safety in the rock of Aornus, which

they deemed capable of bidding defiance to the invader, and where they were joined by the population of the surrounding country.

This famed rock Aornus probably belonged to some of the ranges which environ the delightful plain Alexander was now ravaging. The appellative Aornus is Greek, denoting its elevation to be so great, as to be above the flight of birds; the word being *ornos*, a bird, with the privative *alpha* prefixed. Arrian describes it as being more than a mile in altitude, having a base of twenty miles in circumference, and accessible only by one narrow pathway cut out in the rock. It appears to have been a table rock, having a wide extent of arable and pasture land on its summit, with springs of water, so that 1000 men could subsist thereon without any foreign support. So well calculated was it for defence, that fable has affirmed, that Hercules himself had been foiled by an earthquake in his attempt to become master of this fastness.

Having stationed garrisons in Ora and Massaga, and another deserted town named Orobatis, and having repeopled Bazira, Alexander proceeded to Aornus, with intent to besiege it. In his way thither, he received the submission of Peucela, in which city also he placed a garrison, under the command of Philip, son of Machatas, while he appointed Nicanor satrap of the province. After reducing several minor places in his progress, he at length reached Ecbolimus, or Embolima, which stood in the vicinity of Aornus, which city he also captured.

Alexander now advanced to the rock, in order to besiege it. It was a difficult task; and had not treason appeared in aid of his arms, it is probable he would have been compelled to resort to a blockade. Soon after he had encamped at the foot of the mountain, some treacherous natives, dwelling in the neighbourhood, offered to guide his troops, by an unknown path, to a spot from whence the defenders of the post might be assailed with advantage. This ensured ultimate success. Ptolemy was despatched to seize and fortify this commanding point, which, after a toilsome march, he accomplished. Alexander then attempted to ascend the rock by the passage in the opposite quarter; but he met with insuperable difficulties, and was driven back. Ptolemy also sustained a severe conflict with the Indians, which he with difficulty surmounted. Still the operations went forward. Alexander next formed a junction with Ptolemy, and made an assault in concert against the Indians; but the defenders of the rock displayed such courage,

that they were foiled in this attempt also. The Indians repelled the Macedonians with great slaughter, much to the conqueror's chagrin. But the ardour of Alexander was irrepressible. Seeing that the declivity of the way by which the Indians were attacked was their great advantage, he caused a quantity of trees to be cut down, and with them filled the cavities between the plain where the enemy was encamped, and the highest of his advanced posts. The position which the Indians held was now open to the missiles of their enemies, and their confidence in the impregnability of the rock was shaken. They sent deputies to treat for a capitulation, and Alexander feigned to listen to their proposal. Suspecting, however, their intention was to lull his vigilance to sleep, and thereby to make their escape, he secretly made arrangements for attacking the garrison whenever it should retreat. His suspicions were well founded, and his plan successful. The Indians commenced a retreat, and the Macedonians pursued them, and slew many of them, while many more perished by losing the track, and falling from the precipitous heights. The command of this stronghold was given to Sisicottus, an Indian, who had served under Bessus, and afterwards under Alexander in Bactria.

While Alexander was thus employed, the brother of the late prince of the Assakenes shook off his yoke. On hearing of this revolt, Alexander retraced his course to the territory of the Assakenes. Arriving at Dyrta, however, he found that city abandoned, and on proceeding further, he learned that the Assakenes had retired beyond the frontier, leaving their elephants to pasture on the banks of the Indus. Accordingly, leaving Nearchus and Antiochus to suppress the insurrection, Alexander continued his march towards the Indus, whither he arrived in sixteen days, and where Hephæstion and Perdiccas had provided a bridge of boats for the passage of the army.

The exact spot of this celebrated passage cannot be definitely fixed; but it is supposed, with great probability, by Rennell, to have been the ferry of Paishawar, opposite the fortress of Attock,* erected by the emperor Ackbar, to command the

* At this point, the Indus is 260 yards across. Its depth is unknown, the stream being too deep and rapid to be accurately sounded. At the point of junction with the Cophenes, the scene is terrific: their confluence and their course through the rocks, before they are lost in the mountains, is full of waves and eddies, producing a sound like that of the sea in a storm. Ten miles south of Attock, its breadth is so contracted between

passage of that river, five miles below its junction with the Cophenes, and ten miles above the site of Neelaub, the Naubibis of Ptolemy. Before he crossed the stream, Alexander halted for a while to refresh his troops and offer sacrifices. While thus situated, he received a magnificent present from Taxiles, consisting of 200 talents of silver, (400,000*l.*,) 3,000 oxen, 10,000 sheep, and thirty elephants. Taxiles also sent the keys of his capital, and a contingent of 700 cavalry. Having refreshed his troops, and consulted the diviners as to the success of the expedition, who pronounced that the omens were propitious, Alexander led his army to the left bank of the Indus. On reaching the shore, he again sacrificed to the gods. After this he pursued his march to the capital of Taxiles, which is believed to have been situated between the Indus and Hydaspes, on the site now occupied by the town of Seræ Roobbaut. Taxiles received him with warm demonstrations of friendship, which was rewarded by Alexander by adding to his dominion some adjacent territory coveted by the Indian prince. The rumour of this gift, and the dread of his arms, incited Doxares, called by Arrian "Chief of the land," and Abissares, who ruled over the mountainous district between Cashmere and the kingdom of Taxiles, to take measures for conciliating Alexander. They sent presents to him by envoys, desiring his friendship, which they obtained. Abissares, moreover, whose mountain warriors, like their successors, the Ghickers, were always ready to aid any invader, in order to reap the spoil, or share it with the conqueror, like Taxiles, joined his forces to those of Alexander.

The potentate whom Alexander resolved next to attack, was Porus, who was hostile to Taxiles, and who ruled over the country beyond the Hydaspes. Accordingly, about the summer solstice, having placed a garrison in Taxila, and appointed Philip, son of Machatis, governor of that province, Alexander accompanied by Taxiles, at the head of 5000 Indians, proceeded with his army to the Hydaspes.*

the hills, that at Neelaub it is said to be no more than a stone's throw across. Anciently, the river was called at this point, and as far up as Baltistaun, or Little Tibet, Nilab, whence it is supposed the mistake in history has arisen, which makes Alexander write to his mother, Olympias, that he had found out the sources of the Nile. Though deficient in geographical information, he could not have looked for the "river of Egypt" in India.

* This stream originates near the great Himalaya, in the south-east border of Cashmere, in north latitude 34° 30′, and in east longitude 77°,

In the mean while, Porus, who had been summoned, as a preliminary step to war, to pay the Macedonian monarch tribute, prepared to meet him in the field. It was at the pass of Jellallpore, which is 114 miles in direct distance southeast of Attock, where Alexander had prepared to cross the stream, and Porus, availing himself of the natural barrier formed at this season of the year by the swelling of the river, encamped on the opposite side, with a determination to hold him at bay. The position which he occupied appears to have been between Jailum and Jellallapore. He had a large army under his command, amounting, according to both Arrian and Diodorus, to between 50,000 and 60,000 troops, besides chariots and elephants. The main body of these forces he kept together in a central post, to oppose Alexander in person, while with the remainder he guarded all the points by which there was a chance that the invaders might attempt the passage of the river. For a long time, this system of Porus produced its intended effect. Alexander made attempts, and spread reports, all to no purpose. The watchful Indian, ever on his guard, defied his attempts to pass the river, and took no heed of his reports. At length, Alexander, wearied out with attempting to pass the river in the face of the enemy, sought to gain a footing by stealth in some remote quarter. A convenient place was at length found, a few miles from the Grecian camp, where the river, sweeping round a wooded promontory, was divided by an uninhabited island, also covered with wood. It was thought that the needful preparations might be made here unobserved by the enemy; and in order to throw Porus off his guard, Alexander despatched detachments of cavalry every night to different parts of the right bank, to sound trumpets, and to make a show of passing over the river. Porus prepared at first to repel these menaced attacks; but finding, at length, that nothing proceeded from them, and supposing that they were meant to wear out his troops by fatigue, he ceased to notice them. This was what Alexander wished, and he resolved to fall upon him without delay. Accordingly, taking with him 6000 infantry, and 5000

at the western foot of Mount Kantel, which separates Cashmere from Landauk, eighty miles south-east of Cashmere city. It is a magnificent river, running a direct course of 450 miles, till it joins the Acesines, seventy miles above Moltoun. Its breadth varies greatly. About ten miles east of Cashmere, it spreads out into a beautiful sheet of water, ten miles across, called the Ouller Lake; while at Jellallpore, where Alexander sought to cross the stream, it is between one and two miles in width only, in the dry season.

cavalry, he led them to the appointed place of the passage; while Craterus was left in the camp with a large force, with orders to cross the river on perceiving that the bulk of the enemy's forces was marching to the scene of action. Between the camp, also, and the point at which he was to embark, the mercenary horse and foot were stationed, under Meleager, Attalus, and Gorgias, who had orders to pass the river in various places, in the midst of the scene of action.

The project of Alexander was facilitated by one of those monsoon thunderstorms so common in the south of India. The rain, which fell in torrents, rendered it impossible for the Indian outposts to keep efficient watch; while the heart-appalling thunder, which in these storms never ceases to roll, overpowered the sounds which arose from the movements of the thousands about to commit themselves to the waves. Plutarch relates that several Greek soldiers fell victims to the lightning of that awful night. Towards morning, however, the storm died away, and every thing being ready, the troops embarked. Alexander led the van, in a thirty-oared galley, and the opposite shore was at length gained, unopposed.

When Porus heard of this untoward event he was at a loss to know how to act. He saw the mass of the Macedonian army before him, and he therefore fancied that the distant attack was a feint to draw him from the point of danger. In this dilemma, he sent his son, with 2000 horse and 130 chariots, to take such measures as might be needful. The truth was soon discovered. These were encountered by Alexander, at the head of the whole of his cavalry, and 400 of the Indians, among whom was the youthful prince, were slain; the rest fled to tell the news to Porus.

Leaving a body of troops, with some elephants, to oppose Craterus, who, at this critical moment, gave signs of an intention to pass over, Porus marched with the rest of the army to meet Alexander. He led his host, consisting of 30,000 infantry, 4000 cavalry, 300 chariots, and 200 elephants, to a sandy plain, where his chariots, cavalry, and elephants could act freely, and there prepared for the conflict. His first line consisted of the elephants, each about 100 feet apart. Behind them, facing the intervals, the infantry was stationed, in divisions; while on each wing, a part of the cavalry was posted, the chariots being ranged in its front. Alexander soon made his appearance, and when he saw the formidable array, he halted to reconnoitre its position. Accustomed to the dreadful arts of slaughter, his keen eye saw that there was no

chance of success in the centre, as the elephants would terrify his cavalry, and trample down his infantry. Accordingly, he determined to leave the centre untouched, and to turn the flank. For this purpose, he divided his cavalry into two unequal portions, the largest of which he led himself, and placed the other under the command of Cœnus. Thus prepared, the fearful scene commenced by Alexander's falling upon the left wing of Porus. The dispute, though brief, was very bloody. The horse of Porus was quickly broken, and the foot being thus uncovered, the Macedonians charged them. The Indian horse rallied, and came to their relief; but they were again defeated. In the mean time, the archers had wounded many of the elephants and slain their riders, by which they were rendered useless. They fell back, indeed, upon their own forces, causing great confusion; and Cœnus, embracing this opportunity, fell in with the troops under his command, and the Indian host was put to the rout. Porus, pre-eminent in valour, as he was pre-eminent in stature, did all he could to turn the fortune of the day; but his exertions and his example of bravery were vain. He saw every corps put to the rout, and then, yielding to necessity, he fled. Twenty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry, on the side of the Indians, are said to have fallen in this battle. In this carnage Craterus had a share; for passing the Hydaspes at the moment of the victory, many of the fugitives were intercepted and slain by his troops. The slain included another of the sons of Porus, and nearly the whole of his principal officers. Arrian says, that the Greeks lost only 300 men.

After the victory, Alexander despatched Taxiles to persuade Porus to surrender. Enraged at the approach of his ancient foe, whom he deemed the author of his present misfortunes, Porus seized his spear, and would have slain him, had not Taxiles saved himself by flight. Alexander then sent Meroes, who was a friend of the defeated monarch, to persuade him to surrender. When Meroes approached him, Porus was nearly exhausted by fatigue, pain, and thirst. Seeing his friend, Porus stopped his elephant, alighted, and having drank a little water, he desired Meroes to conduct him to Alexander. When he approached, the conqueror and some of his officers went forth to meet him. Alexander was struck by his lofty stature and loftier bearing, and desired Meroes to ask him how he would be treated. Porus replied, "As a monarch." Pleased at the request, Alexander rejoined: "That I will do for my own sake; but what shall I do for

yours?" "In my foregoing request," answered Porus, "every thing is included." Alexander was more pleased at this second reply, and immediately gave him his liberty, reinstated him in his throne, and enlarged his dominions. This generosity was not without its reward; for Porus ever after continued a faithful ally to the Macedonian monarch, and even to his successors.

After this victory, Alexander decreed the founding of two cities, for the double purpose of commemorating the event, and securing the future passage of the Hydaspes. One of these cities, Nicæa, which has reference to victory, was raised on the field of battle. The other was established on the spot where he crossed the river, and it was denominated Bucephala, from his favourite horse Bucephalus, who died here of old age.*

If there is one thing which exhibits the hardening effects war has upon the human mind more than another, it is the triumphs which follow. Throughout the whole page of history, ancient and modern we read of victories being celebrated by triumphs, sacrifices, feasts, and games. It was thus that Alexander celebrated this victory. While yet the groans of the dying were ringing in their ears, and the streams of their brother's blood flowing before their eyes, the Greeks lifted up the voice of thanksgiving and joy for their victory. Would that this pagan example were not followed by professing Christian nations; that we rather wept over the dreadful effects of war, than rejoiced over the destruction of our enemies. But what is the real state of public feeling when thus called into action? Let the poet with his humanizing verse, reply:—

> Boys and girls,
> And women that would groan to see a child
> Pull off an insect's leg, all read of war—
> The best amusement for our morning meal!
> The poor wretch, who has learnt his only prayer
> From curses,—who knows scarcely words enough
> To ask a blessing from his heavenly Father,—
> Becomes a fluent phraseman, absolute
> And technical in victories and deceit,
> And all our daily terms for fratricide,—

* This animal would not allow any one to mount him but Alexander, and it had been the companion of all his toils. Arrian says, it was denominated Bucephalus, or "bull head," either from his head resembling that of a bull, or from having a white mark, like a bull's head, on his forehead, his general colour being black.

> Terms which we trundle smoothly o'er our tongues
> Like mere abstractions; empty sounds, to which
> We join no feeling, and attach no form.—COLERIDGE.

This is an awful picture of humanity; a picture which exhibits to us how much mankind stand in need of the renewing and healing influences of God's Holy Spirit.

After thus desolating and rejoicing over the forces of Porus, leaving Craterus with a portion of his army to forward the building of the two cities, not satisfied yet with slaughter, Alexander marched to invade the territory of the Glausæ. Their country was situated between the Hydaspes, and the river Acesines, and Sandablis by Ptolemy, and bordered on that of Porus, probably to the south or south-west. It was very fertile and populous having, it is said, thirty-seven towns containing from 5000 to 10,000 inhabitants each, besides numerous large villages. The Glausæ do not appear to have been a warlike people; for they yielded to Alexander without a struggle, and they were placed under the sway of Porus.

At this time, through the intervention of Alexander a reconciliation took place between Porus and Taxiles; after which, the latter was allowed to return to his own dominions.

While in the territories of the Glausæ, Alexander received a second embassy from Abissares. That prince had intended since his alliance with Alexander, to join his forces to those of Porus, but had been prevented by his defeat, and he now sent to offer his ready submission to the conqueror, seconding his advances with a present of a large sum of money and forty elephants. Aware of his double dealing, Alexander declared that if Abissares did not appear before him in person, he must prepare for an invasion. At the same time, messengers arrived from Sisicottus, with the intelligence that the Assakenes had rebelled, and put the governor to death; Philip and Tyriaspes were sent with adequate forces to reduce them to obedience.

Between the magnificent Acesines and Hydraotis, the modern Chenaub and Rauwee, there was another prince bearing the name of Porus. This prince was at variance with his namesake, and finding him opposed to Alexander, he offered his submission to the invader. When, however, he discovered that his antagonist had been defeated, and received as the ally of the conqueror, he became alarmed, and fled beyond the Hydraotis, to join the Cathayans, Oxydracians, and

Mallians, who were the most warlike nations in India, and who were forming a confederacy against Alexander.

Hearing of the flight of Porus, whom Arrian denominates the "bad Porus," Alexander hastened to pass the Acesines,* which stream is more than a mile wide, and very deep and rapid, and he did so without encountering any resistance. He took possession of the territories of the fugitive, and having placed garrisons in some of the principal towns, to secure the march of Craterus and Cœnus, who were employed in collecting supplies from various quarters, and having left Hephæstion with forces to complete the subjugation of the territories belonging to the "bad Porus," with every independent city he might find on the banks of the Hydraotis, all of which he was to place under the government of his friend Porus, Alexander passed onward to the Hydraotis, in pursuit of the fugitives.

The Hydraotis,† which is the Adris of Ptolemy, and the Hyarotis of Strabo, is said by Elphinstone to be the least of all the Punjaub, or five Indian rivers, its breadth from bank to bank being, on the 12th of August, when it should have reached its maximum height, only 513 yards. Notwithstanding, it was yet capable of checking, when resolutely defended, the progress of an invader. But the terror of Alexander's arms had gone before him, and he passed over the Hydraotis, as he had the Acesines before, unopposed.

The capital of the Cathayans, Sangala, stood at the distance

* This river rises in the snowy mountains to the south-east of the source of the Hydaspes, and runs a south-west course of 370 miles to its junction with that river. By Ptolemy it is named Sandabilis; in Sanscrit, Chandrabhaga; and in the Ayeen Akberry, Chanderbaka. It is the largest of the five Indian rivers, but not the longest, as some assert, for it is exceeded in this respect by the Hydaspes by eighty miles. The reason why it is called the longest river is, because it preserves its name till its junction with the Indus, whereas the Hydaspes is lost in that magnificent river. At Wuzzerabad Ghat, when it was measured, on the 31st of July, it was found to be one mile, three furlongs, and twenty perches, from edge to edge of the bank. The soundings were the same as those of the Hydaspes; fourteen feet being the greatest, but the current was more rapid, the Acesines running five and a half, and the Hydaspes four miles an hour.

† The Sanscrit appellation of this river is the Iyrawutty, and in the Ayeen Akberry it is Irawaddy. Although it is the least of the five Indian rivers, still it is a noble stream, having a course of 250 miles, before it enters the combined stream of the Acesines and Hydaspes, thirty-five miles below the confluence of these rivers. Its depth seldom exceeds twelve feet, but its bottom is much more muddy than any of the other rivers.

of three marches beyond the Hydraotis. Towards this city Alexander directed his march, and on his arrival there he found the Cathayans encamped on a neighbouring height, which they had encompassed with a triple line of carriages. It was evident that it would be a work of no small difficulty to drive the Cathayans from their position, and in the first instance Alexander failed in the attempt. Bringing up his phalanx, however, after an obstinate conflict, the exterior circle was broken through, and the Macedonians entered. The second, more closely compacted, after a desperate resistance, was also forced, and the Indians, leaving the third rampart undefended, withdrew into the city.

The city of Sangala was of such extent, that Alexander was obliged to employ both cavalry and infantry in its investment, till a line of circumvallation could be drawn around it. Behind the city, this line was interrupted by a lake, and as this was very shallow, Alexander suspected that the Cathayans would endeavour to escape. Such was their intention, for they were well aware that their fortifications, which consisted only of a brick wall, would not long answer the purpose of defence. Two successive nights they made the attempt to escape, but they were driven back by the Greeks. At length, Porus having arrived with reinforcements, and several elephants, the battering engines were brought before the walls, and a breach being soon made, the assault was ordered, and the city carried by storm. It is said, that 17,000 Cathayans fell on this occasion, and that 70,000 were made prisoners, while the Macedonians lost only 100 men, and had 1200 wounded.

The inhabitants of two adjacent cities had leagued with those of Sangala, to resist the invader. Alexander now sent Eumenes to offer them mercy, if they would receive garrisons within their walls. Impressed, however, with the fear of his arms, they had fled; nor could Alexander, who, irritated by this proof of distrust, pursued after them, overtake them in their flight. With the exception of 500, aged, sick, and infirm, who were pitilessly slaughtered by the Greeks, the rest escaped. On his return to Sangala, Alexander directed it to be levelled with the ground, and he gave the territories to those Indians who had submitted to his rule.

The dominions of Alexander now extended from the Ægean to the Hyphasis, and from the confines of Scythia to the Erythrean Sea. But ambition hath an excess of appetite which grows from what it feeds on, whence Alexander still

sighed for conquest. Insatiable as the grave, he had not yet learned to say, "It is enough," and he turned his thoughts to other feats of arms.

As the conqueror was encamped on the banks of the Hyphasis,* which is the Bybasis of Ptolemy, the Hypasis of Pliny, and the Hypanis of Strabo, he was informed that beyond this river, and extending to the Ganges, the country was rich and fertile; the inhabitants industrious and brave, living in peace and plenty, and under mild and equitable laws; and having elephants in greater numbers, and superior in size and strength to the Western India.

This was a field which Alexander deemed worthy of his ambition, and he prepared for the passage of the Hyphasis. But an unforeseen obstacle arose, which frustrated his designs. His followers deemed that sufficient had been done for conquest and glory, and they refused to accompany him; nor could the tempting offers of wealth, dominion, and glory, which he held out to them, in the fertile plains of Hindustan, together with his remonstrances, soothings, and sullenness for three whole days, alter their determination.

At the end of that time, Alexander saw that it was in vain to oppose the wishes of his army, and that it was better for him to yield with as small a sacrifice of dignity as possible. He was aided in this dilemma by superstition. Affecting to persist in his designs, he gave direction for sacrifices to be performed, that the will of the gods might be consulted as to his march. On a former occasion, when the omens were pronounced unpropitious, Alexander took no heed, and pursued his career: Aristander now reported that the omens where wholly adverse to his undertaking, and he replied, that since the deities were opposed to his further progress, he would return! This was glad news to his army. One universal shout of joy burst forth, accompanied with tears of joy, and numbers thronged around his tent to thank him, because he who was invincible to all others, had permitted himself to be overcome by their desire. Their whole conduct

* The source of the Hyphasis seems to be the Great Himalaya, or Himadra, in the rajahdry of Kooloo. Its modern names are the Beyah and the Beas Gunga. Its breadth is not accurately stated. Where the British mission, crossed it, however, at Bhirowal Ghat, it was 740 yards broad. At this place, its right bank is very high, and the current rapid, from which circumstance its depth has not been taken. There are many quicksands in its bed, and in the cold season, when the water is low, there are many islands and sand beds formed toward the centre.

on this occsion is a striking illustration of the poet's sentiments.

O let me know
What is the need and purpose of the toil,
The painful toil, which robb'd me of my youth,
Left me a heart misrul'd and solitary,
A spirit uninform'd, unornamented,
For the camp's stir, and crowd, and ceaseless larum,
The neighing war horse, the ear-shattering trumpet,
The unvaried still returning hour of duty
Word of command and exercise of arms,—
There's nothing here, there's nothing in all this,
To satisfy the heart—the gasping heart!
Mere bustling nothingness, where the soul is not!
This cannot be the sole felicity,—
These cannot be man's best and only pleasures!
O day thrice lovely! when at length the soldier
Returns him into life,—when he becomes
A fellow-man among his fellow-men!—COLERIDGE.

According to Plutarch, it was the opinion of Andracottas, who afterwards reigned over the eastern Indians, and who in his youth had seen Alexander, that he might have made himself master of the whole country, the king then reigning in those parts being despised for the meanness of his birth, and hated for his cruelty.

Alexander having taken the resolution of returning homewards, commanded twelve gigantic altars, equal in height to oriental towers, and exceeding them in size, to be erected as a monument of his victories, and an offering of thanks to the gods. On these altars he sacrificed to the deities; closing the ceremony by horse races and gymnastic exercises.

Having reared these gigantic altars, and performed his devotions thereon to his false gods, Alexander commenced his retrograde march. He retraced his steps to the Hydraotis, and halted on the banks of the Acesines. The purpose for which he halted was to people the town which he had directed Hephæstion to build, and which he found completed.* While thus engaged, another embassy arrived from Abissares, by which that monarch pleaded ill health as his excuse for

* The reader must not imagine that the cities and towns which ancient historians speak of as being built by the command of monarchs in the space of a few weeks, were places of importance at the beginning. They were doubtless but the germs of future greatness; for all human experience teaches us that the rise of such cities is gradual. The buildings, moreover, of the cities alluded to were not such as we meet with in our country.

not personally attending to pay homage to the conqueror, and desired his acceptance of costly presents, and of thirty elephants. Alexander was satisfied with the apology, accepted the presents, and confirmed Abissares in the possession of his dominions, subject to an annual tribute. He pursued the same line of policy, also, to Arsaces, another chief living in the vicinity of Abissares, who sent an embassy to him at the same time.

Alexander passed from the Acesines to the Hydaspes, where he found the recently erected cities, Nicæa and Bucephala, much injured from the swellings of the river, He caused his soldiers to repair the damage, while he himself made arrangements for the future government of the conquered territory. All the country as far as the Hyphasis was added to the dominions of Porus, subject, however, to an annual tribute to the Macedonian monarch.

About this time, the losses which the Macedonian army had sustained during this campaign were repaired by the arrival of large reinforcements from Greece, by which Alexander was enabled to undertake the reduction of all the nations bordering on the Indus, from Taxila to the ocean, which he now meditated.

There was another object which Alexander was desirous of accomplishing, that of exploring the coast from the mouths of the Indus to the Persian Gulf, as Scylax had done before by order of Darius Hystaspes. Accordingly, during the time that Alexander had been employed in conquest towards the Hyphasis, the preparations for this projected voyage had been going forward, and on his return to the Hydaspes, the work was carried on with increased vigour, and speedily completed. According to Arrian, the timber for building the vessels was procured from the neighbouring mountains, and it is certain that it might have been obtained from the forests at the foot of the mountains that skirt the western bank of the Ihylium. The flotilla consisted of 2000 transports, and eighty galleys, which, from their having thirty oars, bore the name of triaconters. They were manned by Phenicians, Carians, Cyprians, and Egyptians, and the command of the whole was given to Nearchus.

Every thing being ready, propitiatory sacrifices were offered to the gods, and the presiding deity of the Hydaspes. After this, Alexander and his army embarked, with the exception of three divisions, one of which marched along the Acesines, and the other along the Hydaspes, by which the

whole country may be said to have been traversed. At the sound of the trumpets, the flotilla was unmoored, and the many vessels that composed it glided proudly onward.

According to ancient historians and geographers, the Hydaspes was twenty stadia, or two miles, broad.* Down this mighty stream the flotilla passed for five days, without meeting with any obstruction. At the end of that time, it came to the confluence of the Hydaspes and Acesines, the junction of which rivers is effected with great noise and violence, the waves dashing against one another like a troubled ocean. On approaching this scene, the mariners were struck with fear, the rowers dropped their oars, and the regulators, who directed the movements of the crews, for a moment stood aghast. Recovering their presence of mind, however, the officers directed their men to pull vigorously, in order to give the vessels sufficient impetus to clear the whirlpools by which they were surrounded; and by so doing, all the vessels, except two of the long galleys, which perished by running foul of each other, succeeded in passing without irremediable injury. Soon after this escape from danger, the channel of the river growing wider, the velocity decreased, and the fleet was steered into a bay on the right bank, where the injured vessels were put under repair.

As the flotilla passed onward, the different tribes of Indians who dwelt in the vicinity of both sides of the river either submitted voluntarily to Alexander, or were reduced to obedience by detachments sent against them. The Malli and the Oxydracæ, however, whose territories lay in his future route, to the north and south of the country which now bears the name of Mooltan, resolved not to resign their liberty without a struggle. But their resolution was vain. Alexander divided his army into four divisions, three of which marched at a considerable distance from each other, in parallel columns, and swept all before them; whilst he himself, at the head of the fourth, marched inland from the river to attack the Malli on that side, and to compel the fugitives to flee to the forks of the rivers, that they might be intercepted by the other divisions. This plan was successful. The Mallians were driven before him, like beasts of the field, to the confluence of the Hydraotis

* This statement appears true; for Elphinstone says that the inundation overflows four or five miles of the low country on its left bank. The stream, however, varies in breadth, as may be seen in the note, page 170.

and Acesines, which was the rendezvous at which the various divisions were again to re-unite.

A little above the confluence of these streams stood the capital of the Malli, denominated Mooltaun. Alexander had been informed that the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities had sought an asylum there, and he resolved to attack it. Before he could reach it, however, the congregated multitude had abandoned the city, and had drawn up their forces, in number, it is said, to 50,000, on the banks of the Hydaspes, to dispute the passage of that river. Eager for his prey, Alexander hastened forward to reconnoitre the enemy; and he no sooner saw them draw up to oppose his progress, than he plunged into the river at the head of his cavalry. The Indians at first retreated, but seeing him unsupported by his infantry, they faced about, and commenced the contest. Alexander, however, held them at bay till the Agrians, archers, and other light armed foot, advanced, which were followed by the phalanx, and the Mallians, terror stricken, retreated into a neighbouring fortified city.

This city, to which history has assigned no name, was neither the capital of the Malli, nor among the Oxydracans at Outch, 120 miles below, but about ten geographical miles, according to Rennel, above the confluence of the Rauwee, or Hydraotis, and Chunaub, or Acesines, a few miles to the north of the Rauwee and the ancient capital of the Malli. On the morning after the retreat of the Malli into this city, Alexander gave orders to storm the place. One of the gates was soon broken down, and Alexander entered by the breach, while Perdiccas entered by the deserted walls, in an opposite direction. In the mean time, the Indians had retired into the citadel. Alexander gave instant orders for scaling its walls; and in the height of his impatience, he snatched a ladder from one of his soldiers, and ascending it, raised his shield above his head, to ward off the missiles of the garrison. Behind him followed Peucestas, bearing the sacred shield from the Trojan temple of Minerva, and next was Leonnatus, an officer of the body guard. These all, with Abreas, who ascended foremost on the adjacent ladder, and whose former services had been rewarded with double pay, gained the summit of the battlement. Others were pressing after them, but the ladders broke under their weight, by which accident all immediate access was cut off against his troops. The Mallians knew their enemy, but no one ventured to meet him in close combat. From every turret and corner of the fort, however, a

ceaseless shower of darts was directed against him. Alexander saw, that to remain in his present position, death was certain, and leaping into the citadel, he placed his back to the wall, and waited for his assailants. Some of them approached, but he slew several, among whom was their general, and the Mallians again resorted to the use of missiles. By this time, his three companions in this perilous enterprise had ranged themselves by his side to fight in his defence. Abreas, pierced in his head by an arrow, soon fell at the feet of his leader. A well-aimed arrow (which was discharged by a bow bent by the foot, against whose rapid flight no armour could afford protection) next broke through Alexander's cuirass, and penetrated into the upper part of his breast. His spirit sustained him for a brief period; but overpowered by pain, loss of blood, and difficulty of respiration, he fainted, and sank forward upon his shield. In this condition, he was protected by Peucestas on one side, who held over him the shield of Minerva, and by Leonnatus on the other, both being sorely wounded. At length succour appeared. The Macedonians, by driving spikes or pegs into the earthen walls, had climbed up to the battlement in great numbers, while others entered by a gate which had been forced open. The catastrophe was fearful. Excited by rage and revenge, the Macedonians fell upon the garrison, and put the whole, not excepting the women and their infants, to death.

The wound which Alexander had received was dangerous in its nature. He was borne away, on the verge of death, upon a shield, by his disconsolate soldiers, and he continued for some time in so weak a state, that his recovery was doubtful. The rumour of his death, indeed, went forth in the camp, and it filled every heart among the Macedonians with grief and consternation. Imagining themselves placed almost at the farthest verge of "this big world" without a leader, "How," exclaimed they, "are we to accomplish our return to Greece, having so many rivers to pass, and to travel through so many hostile countries, some yet unvanquished, and ready to fight to the last for their liberty, while others, whom the dread of Alexander's name, or their admiration of his character alone have subjected, will break out into new revolt, if unrestrained by his genius and valour?"

The rumour of Alexander's death was premature. Notwithstanding, the army persisted, as they were not permitted to see him, that all assertions to the contrary were only made for the purpose of deluding them. At length, having some

what recovered, he was conveyed to the banks of the Hydraotis, and embarking on that river, he descended to the camp, and being anxious to dissipate the fears of his troops, as soon as he gained the shore he mounted his horse, on which the joyful acclamations and greetings of his soldiers rose on all sides, and were echoed by the surrounding shores and woods.

Alexander recovered. "The same Providence," says Jortin, "that raised up and conducted Cyrus, preserved the rash Macedonian from perishing, till he had overthrown the Persian empire. I call him *rash*, because he exposed his own person too much; for his enterprise, though very bold, was, perhaps, neither rash nor rashly conducted. Alexander was designed and reserved for extraordinary purposes, to assist in fulfilling and justifying the prophecies of Daniel." Yes, reader, though Alexander, in all his movements, exhibited proofs that the rule of his conduct was ambition, there was a Power above that made his ambition subservient to the eternal counsels of His will. It is not by the righteous alone that his work is done on earth. Paradoxical as it may appear, the ungodly sons of ambition are sometimes made the instruments of his wrath, and therefore serve Him; unknowingly, indeed, and undesignedly, as in the case of Alexander, but faithfully. He willed the overthrow of the Persian empire for its iniquities, which had reached unto the heavens, and Alexander accomplished that task to the utmost.

Immediately after Alexander's recovery, ambassadors from the Mallians, with the chiefs of the Oxydracæ to the number of 150, besides the governors of the cities, and of the provinces, arrived in the camp, to sue for peace; offering, as the price of pardon, the submission of the two nations by whom they were sent. Their proffers were accepted; but from the Oxydracæ, whose strength was yet unbroken, he exacted 1000 hostages, to be selected from their principal men, who were either to be held in durance, or employed in arms, to assist in consummating the subjugation of India, according as the conqueror willed. These conditions were consented to by the Oxydracæ: the hostages were sent, and they likewise added a free gift of 500 chariots, with horses and drivers; which act so pleased Alexander, that he reserved only the chariots, and allowed the hostages to return home. Philip, who already ruled over a wide extent of territory, was appointed satrap over these provinces.

Having recovered his strength during this suspension of arms, and the additional vessels which he had ordered to be

built being now ready, Alexander embarked his light troops, 10,000 infantry, and 1700 cavalry, and pursued his course down the Hydraotis and Acesines, till he arrived at the confluence of the latter river with the Indus. Here he waited for Perdiccas, with the division under his command, which general, who had reduced a tribe called the Abistani to obedience during his march, soon arrived. While at this point, Alexander also received an embassy from the Ossadii, with offers of submission, and was joined by several galleys and transports which he had ordered to be constructed in the territory of the Xanthi.* At this spot, moreover, Alexander founded a town, and ordered the formation of docks and other maritime works, it being well calculated for a military and naval station. While thus occupied, he received a visit from his father-in-law, Oxyartes, to whom he gave the satrapy of Paropamisus, its recent governor, Teryestes, having become delinquent. To this province, also, he joined all the country from the falling of the Acesines into the Indus to the sea, in order to gratify Oxyartes, and he joined Python with him in commission.

Having made these arrangements, Alexander gave orders for the fleet and the army again to be put in motion. Craterus, with the main body of the army, and the elephants, were transported from the left to the right bank of the Indus, that they might eventually overrun Arachosia and Drangiani, which were not yet wholly subjected. He himself sailed down the Indus to a city of the Sogdians, supposed to have been in the vicinity of the modern Bukkur,† about 100 miles below the point where the Indus receives the Punjnad, or "five rivers," which is the united waters of the Hyphasis, Hydraotis, Acesines, Hydaspes, and the Sutluj,‡ the five streams of the country of the Punjaub.

Alexander had received information that the kingdom of Musicanus, which lay mid-way between the territory of the Sogdians, and the point where the Indus branches off to the south-east and south-west, was one of the richest and most

* It is not known where the districts inhabited by these tribes were situated.

† The territories of the Sogdians correspond to the modern district of Shikarpoor.

‡ The Sutluj is the most eastern of the five rivers. In the days of Alexander, it was called the Hysudrus, and it is the Hesudrus of Pliny, the Zaradrus of Ptolemy, the Saranges of Arrian, and the Shetooder of the Ayeen Ackberry. Alexander did not advance to this stream.

populous in India.* This was not to be overlooked. Incensed at not receiving homage from Musicanus, he resolved to chastise him for his contumacy. He had already arrived on the coasts of the Indian's kingdom before Musicanus was aware of his situation. When the truth, however, flashed upon his mind, he gathered together the most costly articles for presents, and with these, and all his elephants, he hastened to meet the conqueror. Musicanus laid his gifts at the feet of Alexander, and gave up his realms to him, confessing his error; by which well-timed submission he escaped the horrors of war. Alexander reinstated him in authority; but lest any innovation should be attempted at a future date, a citadel was built in his capital, and a garrison stationed therein, to keep the Musicani in awe.

Adjoining the territories of Musicanus, were those of Oxycanus,† who, like his neighbour, had omitted to submit to the conqueror's power. Alexander marched against him with the Agrians, archers, and the few cavalry which accompanied him, resolving not to leave him unscathed. Oxycanus ventured to meet him in the field; but it was of no avail. His resources were not proportioned to his courage; whence two of his towns were carried by assault, himself made prisoner, and his whole territory fell into the hands of the conqueror.

While thus occupied, Alexander received intelligence that Sambus, who ruled over the Sindomanni (Indian mountaineers inhabiting the north-east side of the Brahooick range that faces the Indus and terminates at Sehwan,) had revolted against his authority. On hearing this, he marched against Sindomana, the capital, the gates of which were thrown open at his approach. He entered, and found that the fugitive rajah had removed neither his elephants nor his treasures, which would confirm the truth of his minister's assurances, that the flight of Sambus was not caused by any hostility to

* The territories of the Musicani seem to correspond to the large island of Chandooky, below Shwan, formed by the Indus and the Larkhanu. This district, for its fertility and beauty, has obtained from the ancients the epithet of *Prasiane*, "the verdant isle," and its modern name signifies, in the dialect of Sinde, "silvery," or, metaphorically, "that which is opulent and beautiful to the eye." Near Chandooky are two districts called Moo and Shevas, which bear some similarity to Musicanus, and which were doubtless the territories of the monarch of that name. It is usual to connect them even at the present day.

† The Oxycani dwelt north of Sehwan, in the modern district of Seweestaun, corresponding to the southern extremity of the Hajycan of ancient maps.

Alexander's own person, but by the favour which had been shown to Musicanus, who was his avowed enemy.

It would appear that Sambus had been induced to act thus by the brahmins, who were, on all occasions, openly or covertly hostile to Alexander, and who were treated by him with almost undeviating severity. That they were now in arms is certain; for after having taken possession of Sindomana, he marched against another city, which they had incited to revolt; and this city being reduced, all the brahmins who could be found were put to death for exciting rebellion. The brahmins had, doubtless, great influence over the minds of the various rajahs of India, as they have to this day. Another instance of this, indeed, occurred before Alexander had returned from this expedition. Musicanus, who had so recently sued to him, advised by them, broke out into rebellion, and set his power at defiance. Alexander sent Python to encounter the refractory rajah, while he himself subdued the cities. The success of both was rapid and complete. Alexander levelled some of the cities to the ground, and erected citadels in others, while Python defeated Musicanus, and led him in chains to the camp of the conqueror. Alexander's treatment of his captive reflects no honour on his character. By his orders, Musicanus was crucified before the eyes of his subjects, together with many brahmins, who were accused of being his advisers.

Alexander was now approaching the Sindian delta, called Pattalene, from Pattala, its capital. The rajah of this territory at first sought the favour of Alexander, which he obtained; but when the conqueror had advanced three days' sail toward the Delta, he was informed that the Indian had fled, with the greater part of his subjects, into the desert, and when he arrived in his territory he found the fields and towns alike deserted. Policy taught Alexander to send after them to induce them to return, which measure was in a great degree successful. Many relying on his assurance that they should suffer no injury, but should enjoy their possessions in security, returned to their homes. In the mean time, Hephæstion was directed to build a citadel at Pattala,* to commence the works necessary for a naval establishment, and to dig wells in positions of the circumjacent districts, which were rendered uninhabitable for want of water, and which,

* As there are several deltas in the Lower Indus, there called *Mehran*, a Persian appellation, it cannot be ascertained what particular delta is meant by Pattala, or Pattalene.

after some opposition from bands of refractory natives, was accomplished.

The conquests that Alexander had before him now, in the south, did not require the whole of his vast force, and accordingly he placed three divisions of the phalanx, and a part of the archers, with all whom sickness, age, or wounds, rendered incapable of extreme fatigue, under the command of Craterus, who was ordered to ascend the right bank of the Indus, and then proceed by Arachosia and Drangiana, to the province of Carmania, where Alexander intended to join him by another route. At the same time, Python, with the Agrians and horse archers, was despatched up the left bank of the Indus, to collect colonists for the newly-erected cities, and to subdue all who should dare oppose him; after which he was to return to Pattala.

A favourite project of Alexander's yet remained unaccomplished; the only project, indeed, by which his renown could be increased, that of navigating the Indus to the mouth of the Euphrates. Notwithstanding, knowing the dangers that awaited adventurers upon unknown seas, Alexander was fearful of endangering his reputation by undertaking this voyage personally, and he sought for some one among his army to whom he could commit the conduct of the expedition. The dignity of leader was offered to many, but all refused, from fear; till at length, Nearchus, a Cretan, who had become a naturalized Macedonian, came forward to tender his services, and he was appointed admiral of the fleet.

The exploration of the two main branches of the Indus to the ocean, Alexander executed in person. He sailed down the western branch first, being supported by Leonnatus with 8000 foot and 1000 horse, who marched on the left band of the river. The first day was passed in safety; but on the second, the voyagers encountered dangers incident to the proverbial inconstancy of the Indus through the Delta, and which were increased by a monsoon storm blowing directly up the river. The waves, agitated by the current, roared as an ocean, as they do at the present day, and the ships running foul of each other, several of them were sunk. The damaged vessels were put under repair; and during the time thus employed, parties of soldiers were sent into the country to capture some of the Pattalenian Indians who had fled on their approach, in order that they might pilot the vessels, in which they succeeded. Under the management of these native pilots, who were skilful in their art, the squadron had nearly

reached the mouth of the river, when another storm compelled them to retire into a bay for shelter.

While in this bay, Arrian says that those ships which lay upon the sand were swept away by the fury of the tide, while those that stuck in the mud were set afloat without any difficulty. * This account is descriptive of the *bore*, or sudden influx of the tide, a phenomenon quite common at the mouth of the Ganges, and is known in some European rivers, as the Severn and the Dordogne. In the mouths of the Indus, the tides rise about nine feet in full moons, and they flow and ebb with great violence, particularly near the sea, where they flood and abandon the banks with equal and incredible velocity.*

Having been informed that there was an island named Killuta near the river's mouth, with good harbours and fresh water, Alexander sent two light vessels to examine it, and the report being favourable, the fleet proceeded thither. While at Killuta, he offered sacrifice to the gods, and he repeated the sacrifice on the following day to other gods, on an adjacent island, in obedience, as he affirmed, to the oracle of Ammon. Passing the mouth of the Indus, moreover, he steered a little southward, to propitiate Neptune, the fabulous god of the sea, for the success of the projected voyage of Nearchus.

Alexander now sailed back by the "eastern" branch of the Indus to Pattala; but which of the eastern branches of this river was navigated by him, and to what extent he carried his researches, is unknown: the situation of Pattala being a much disputed point.†

At length, every thing was ready for the departure of Alexander from India, deeply injured India; a country which, unprovoked by injuries or insult, he had ravaged, and covered with the bones of its slaughtered inhabitants. So dreadful was the scourge of his sword, that at the present day he is

* Some authors, following Curtius, make Alexander look upon the tides in the Indus as something supernatural. This is surely an error; for although he had been accustomed to tideless seas, yet, as Rennel justly observes, he had certainly read Herodotus, who says that the tides in the Red Sea are not only strong, but flowing and ebbing every day.

† By some authors, Pattala is identified with the modern Tatta, seventy-nine English miles distant from the sea, while others suppose it was on the site of Hyderabad, 133 miles above the sea by the course of the river. In the former case, the eastern branch, which Alexander descended, was that now denominated the Sata; in the latter, that which bears the names of Goonee and Phurraun, and which at its outlet expands into an estuary called Koree, from seven to twelve miles in breadth.

known by tradition, among the natives, as "The great robber and murderer," a title from which humanity recoils with feelings of indignation and horror.

Many of the troops, as recorded before, had been despatched, under the command of Craterus, through Arachosia and Drangiana; of the rest, some were to embark in the fleet, others were to garrison the post on the Lower Indus, while the remainder were to return, under the command of Alexander, by land.

The fleet under the command of Nearchus could not yet commence its voyage, the prevailing monsoons being adverse to its progress. He sailed about the middle of October, B. C. 325, with the north-east monsoon; and it may be mentioned, that he was the first European who with a fleet navigated the Indian seas. He sailed from the port of Crocala, the modern Coratchie, which is fifty-seven miles north-west of Tatta, and south-east of Cape Monze, and is situated in 24° 51′ north latitude, and 67° 16′ east longitude: this is the only seaport in the province of Sinde.

The route which Alexander marked out for himself was replete with danger. With a vain desire of surpassing Semiramus and Cyrus, (who, it is said, in crossing the deserts of Gedrosia, in their retreat from India, lost all their forces with the exception of twenty men in the former instance, and eight in the latter,) he resolved to pass that way. It was early in September that he put his army in motion thitherward, and he directed his course towards the river Arabis, now denominated the Pooralee. Hephæstion was sent forward with the main body of his army, while he himself turned aside to the sea-coast, to direct the excavation of wells for the use of the fleet under Nearchus. The Arabites, who were a harmless and inoffensive people, fled at the approach of the army. The example was followed by the Orites, who occupied the territories which now bear the name of Lus, and form one of the districts of Beloochistan, into which, having crossed the river Arabis, and a narrow slip of desert, Alexander next entered. In this territory he spread slaughter among such of the inhabitants as remained, and took many prisoners. He also took their capital city, Rambacia, in which he was resolved to establish a colony. In the mean time, the natives had formed a junction with some Gedrosian tribes, and had possessed themselves of the pass leading through the mountains into Gedrosia, in the hope of arresting the progress of the invader. Their hope was fallacious. Their courage failed

them on his approach, and they bent their necks to his yoke. Their country was placed under Apollophanes, satrap of Gedrosia, while Leonnatus was stationed in their capital.

Alexander now led his army into the deserts of Gedrosia. His way lay through a part of the province where the heat of the climate favoured the growth of aromatic plants. The shrub bearing myrrh, and the herb producing nard, grew on every hand; and as the latter was trodden under foot by the host, a stream of rich perfume issued from it, delighting the senses. Notwithstanding, the road led to desolation; forcibly reminding the reader of the paths of sin, which are flowery and delightful to the bodily senses, but which nevertheless lead to destruction. As the army of Alexander moved onward, its progress became more wearisome and slow.

The scorching beams of the sun above their heads, the arid sands beneath their feet reflecting its heat, and the clouds of fine dust which floated around, exhausted the courage of the bravest among them, and created the most tormenting thirst. Water would, to them, have been the chief blessing in life; but this was only to be obtained in scanty quantities, at wide distances, and at times they were compelled to halt where none was to be found. Even when it was discovered, the greatest calamities followed. Many of the soldiers drank to such excess that death ensued. Still the army moved forward, and as they proceeded, their difficulties and privations increased, while their diminished strength became less able to support them. The sand, drifted into hillocks and wave-like ridges, sunk beneath their feat like snow, and many of the beasts of burden, unable to surmount these obstacles, being exhausted by hunger and thirst, perished. Provisions now became scarce, and numbers of horses and mules were killed, and consumed by the soldiers. The loss of the cattle was followed by that of the carriages, which were abandoned by the soldiers, to rid themselves of the task of dragging them along. By this act, the fate of the sick and wounded was sealed; they were left to breathe their last sigh in the midst of the barren solitude. The same calamity awaited many whose limbs were enfeebled by hunger and thirst: lingering behind, they saw their comrades no more. At one time indeed, death seemed to hover over the whole army. The winds sweeping violently over the waste had obliterated every vestige of a track, and the guides declared that they knew not where they were. There was nothing to be seen but a boundless extent of billowy sand, like a sandy ocean, which

was continually changing its appearance, as the howling blast swept over the desert. In this emergency, Alexander, supposing that the sea could not be far distant on his left, commanded his army to move in that direction. He himself, made desperate by danger, with a band of cavalry, spurred onward to reconnoitre the country, and after losing all his followers except five, by the way, he succeeded in reaching the coast. Wells were immediately dug,* and a copious supply of water was procured; after which the army were conducted to the shore. They proceeded along the shore for seven days, at the expiration of which period the guides informed him that they were now acquainted with the road into the interior; and, accordingly, turning from the sea, Alexander moved towards the fertile part of Gedrosia, bordering on Carmania, and after sixty days' wandering in the desert, he reached Pura,† the Gedrosian capital, where the troops halted for repose.

The amount of the loss among Alexander's troops in traversing this desert is unknown. Arrian states, and his testimony agrees with that of other historians, that it surpassed the loss of the whole of the former campaigns; and there can be no doubt that it was enormous. A part of the calamities which his army had endured was ascribed by Alexander to the negligence of Apollophanes, satrap of Gedrosia, and he was consequently deposed, and Thoas appointed in his stead. The chief blame, however, according to most ancient historians, belonged to Alexander himself, for having had the temerity to lead his army by the way of the desert; nor have his most ardent admirers succeeded in the attempts they have made to exonerate him. No rational motive can be discovered for leading his army across this frightful desert. In itself it was a great error; and the route he took in the desert heightened its flagrancy. Had he kept close to the shore, instead of deviating from it, an abundant supply of water might have been obtained during the whole route, by digging a foot or two deep in the sandy beach. Some

* The reader must not imagine that the wells here spoken of resemble our wells, which are deep and excavated with much labour. Water might be obtained on the coast merely by digging a foot or two in the sand, as will be seen in a future paragraph.

† This city is represented by the modern Kij, a place of no great note on the river Bela, in 62° 45′ east longitude, and 25° 5′ north latitude. Pottinger identifies the river Bela with the modern Kyser, which runs a course of 1000 British miles in a sinuous direction before it reaches the sea.

authors say that this was the original design of Alexander, and that he was anxious to keep near the sea coast in order to form wells and provide for the subsistence of the fleet under Nearchus. This is contradicted by facts. It was only for a short time that he proceeded along the coast, and he only endeavoured once or twice during that time to furnish supplies to the naval expedition. Nearchus seems to furnish the real motives of Alexander for this fatal step. He says, that Alexander was aware of the perils of the march, but was resolved to *brave* them; thereby considering his undertaking as conducive to his glory; it ministered, however, only to his shame. Truly has it been said, that

> "Human glory's erring path
> Is track'd with desolating woe
> It moves in guile, it strikes in wrath,
> And dims the light of life below."

That it might be handed down to posterity that Alexander crossed the deserts of Gedrosia, thousands of his army were sacrificed in its frightful wilds, and the lives of the whole were endangered.

That the statement of the miseries endured by the army of Alexander, given by ancient historians, is substantially correct, is proved by the description which Pottinger, a modern traveller, gives of the Gedrosian desert. "I travelled," says he, "twenty miles to-day across a desert of the same description as yesterday, and consequently the like impediments opposed me, which were trifling, however, compared with the distress suffered not only by myself and people, but even the camels, from the floating particles of sand; a phenomenon which I am still at a loss to account for. When I first observed it, the desert seemed, at the distance of half a mile or less, to have an elevated and flat surface from six to twelve inches higher than the summits of the waves. This vapour appeared to recede as we advanced, and once or twice completely encircled us, limiting the horizon to a very confined space, and conveying a most gloomy and unnatural sensation to the mind of the beholder: at the same moment we were imperceptibly covered with innumerable atoms of small sand, which getting into our eyes, mouth, and nostrils, caused excessive irritation, attended with extreme thirst, that was increased in no small degree by the intense heat of the sun. On questioning my Brahooe guide, he said that this annoyance was supposed to originate in the solar beams causing the

dust of the desert to rise and float through the air; and judging from experience, I should pronounce this idea to be perfectly correct, as I can aver that this sandy ocean was visible only during the hottest part of the day."

While Alexander was at Para, intelligence arrived that Philip, satrap of the territory to the west of the Indus, was slain in a mutiny of the Greek mercenaries, but that the mutineers were chastised by the guards of the deceased. Taxiles and Eudemus, a Greek, were appointed by letter to hold the vacant government in conjunction till another satrap should be appointed.

After the strength of the soldiers had been recruited, and supplies procured, Alexander again put his army in motion. He was met, on the frontiers of Carmania, by the force which Craterus had led from the Indus through Arachosia and Drangiana. This general brought with him as prisoner, Ordones, a Persian, who had excited revolt in the central provinces. He was met also by Stasanor, satrap of Aria, and Pharasmenes, son of Pharadaphernes, satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania, with a large number of camels and beasts of burden, which were an acceptable present.

Vengeance now overtook the guilty. As Alexander was passing through Carmania, he was joined by some troops which had been stationed in Media, and which were led by Cleander, Sitalces, and Hericon, the murderers of Parmenio. They had scarcely arrived, when the Medes and the Greek troops united in accusing their leaders of violating the sanctity of temples and tombs by plundering them, and also of harassing the natives by acts of extortion and cruelty. Cleander and Sitacles were found guilty, and executed. Hericon escaped, the charge not being fully proved; but he was shortly after impeached by the Susians, for despoiling one of their temples, and being convicted, was put to death.

This circumstance in ancient history enforces the proverbial remark, "that friendship must be preserved with good deeds." It was at the instigation of Alexander himself that these three men assassinated the aged Parmenio, and yet no sooner was a plausible charge brought against them than he consigned them over to death without compunction. These were complicated crimes, that show how widely the world had departed from God in this age of heathenism.

The manner in which Alexander passed through Carmania is a matter of dispute. Curtius, Diodorus, and Plutarch, represent his march as a scene of boisterous mirth, feasting,

and drunkenness, imitative of the return of Dionysius, the Bacchus of mythology, from the conquest of India. Arrian, however, states that these excesses are not alluded to by Ptolemy, Aristobulus, and others; and that Alexander merely sacrificed to the gods in thankfulness for his victories in India, and the preservation of his army in the desert, and that the religious ceremonies were succeeded by gymnastic exercises and theatrical representations. Which of these statements is correct cannot be ascertained; but it is evident from both that Alexander rejoiced over the wide desolations he had spread in India. In either case, by his conduct, he sported with the blood, and groans, and tears, and death, of millions of the human kind.

> "When the song
> Of dear-bought joy, with many a triumph swell'd,
> Salutes the victor's ear, and soothes his pride,
> How is the grateful harmony profan'd
> With the sad dissonance of virgins' cries,
> Who mourn their brothers slain!—of matrons hoar
> Who clasp their wither'd hands, and fondly ask,
> With iteration shrill, their slaughter'd sons!
> How is the laurel's verdure stain'd with blood,
> And soil'd with widows' tears!"—H. More.

It is a fallacious and mischievous, though very common idea, to attach glory to deeds of blood and slaughter.

The conquests of Alexander in India, it may be observed, do not deserve the credit generally attached to them by historians. In the Punjaub, a region unequal to England in extent, there were no less than seven independent nations, and along the lower course of the Indus many more. Among these nations there was little or no concert; each, indeed, acted separately, except the Malli, Catheri, and Oxydracæ, who leagued together for their mutual defence. As this division of states facilitated the career of the Macedonian conquests, so it has given them celebrity. In modern times, however, the conquest of the Punjaub, and all the country bordering on the Indus and its tributary streams, would not be considered very wonderful with such an army as Alexander possessed. Had the several petty states united together in common defence against the invader, it is plain, from the desperate resistance which Porus made single-handed, that he would have been retarded, if not defeated, in his project. According to Plutarch, it was the valour of the Indians which induced the Macedonians to thwart the future designs of Alexander. He says, that as soon as they heard there was a great desert to be

crossed ere they arrived at the Ganges, or Jumnah, and that all the tribes eastward of that river were confederated for their mutual defence, and that their united number, amounting to 200,000 foot, and 80,000 horse, 8000 war chariots, and 600 elephants, were waiting for their advance, they were seized with a panic, which all the eloquence of their adventurous leader could not remove; neither threats nor caresses could prevail on them to move a step further, thinking it better that their bones should lie in Greece than be left to bleach on the hot sands of India. It was the division, therefore, of the states in North-western India, that was mainly conducive to Alexander's ready conquests over those states: had they been faithful to each other, it is probable that they might have retained their liberty.

During Alexander's march through Carmania, he was joined by Nearchus, his admiral, and four of his comrades. Nearchus had performed the object of his expedition, encountering of necessity many difficulties and dangers. So wretched indeed, was the appearance of himself and comrades, that Alexander conceived the rest had perished. Taking the admiral aside, he shed tears, and requested to know the particulars of the catastrophe. When, however, he learned that his fears were ill founded, he was glad, and offered sacrifices to Jupiter, the preserver; Apollo, the averter of evil; Hercules, Neptune, and, in a general manner, to all the maritime deities for the preservation of the fleet. The procession was led by Nearchus, on whom the army scattered flowers, and the scene was closed by games and theatrical representations. After this Nearchus was sent back to the fleet at Harmozia, to conduct it to Susa.

Nearchus, as related before, sailed on his voyage early in October B. C. 325. He first steered for the bay on which now stands the town of Kurachee, the port of Tatta. Thence he proceeded to a haven denominated the haven of Alexander, probably near the south-east point of the bay of Soonmeany. Pursuing his way along a wooded coast, and passing two narrow straits between the rocks and main land, he reached the river Arabis. Soon after, he lost two heavy ships and a store ship by the fury of the winds, which caused him to land at Cocala, on the coast of the Orites, to refresh his men and repair his losses. It was here that the setting in of the north-east monsoon commenced, and moving from thence, Nearchus reached the mouth of the river Tomerus, a distance of thirty-one miles. Westward of this river commenced the

region of the Ichthyophagi, or fish-eaters. After staying four days in the Tomerus, Nearchus resumed his voyage, and came to the island of Carnina. The next point at which he touched was Mosarna, which was situated near the cape now called Posmee, and where he met with a skilful Gedrosian pilot named Hydraces, who was a great acquisition to his fleet. Nearchus voyaged from Mosarna to Barna, about seventy-five miles distant. Thence he moved to Kyiza, in doing which, he was in great danger from the enormous fishes that resorted to the Gedrosian coast at this season. The fleet now came to Begeia, probably the western promontory of the present bay of Guttur. Thence Nearchus sailed to Badis, now called Cape Jack. At this time, the mariners were suffering so severely from dearth, that Nearchus was obliged to prohibit them from leaving the vessels, lest they should desert him, and endeavour to join Alexander by land: at Canasida, indeed, they were under the necessity of feeding on the tender heads of palm trees. From Badis, having steered about fifty miles farther, they approached the entrance of the Persian gulf, and proceeding onwards, in two days they reached the port of Harmozia, on the river Anamis, whence Nearchus journeyed by land to meet Alexander. On his return, it would appear that Nearchus sailed up one of the branches of the Karoon (probably that denominated the Jerahee) to Susa, where he was again to join the monarch.

ALEXANDER'S LAST TRANSACTIONS.

After the abandonment of India, says Heeren, the whole circuit of Alexander's conquests was precisely that of the former Persian empire; his later projects were probably directed against Arabia alone. However easy it had been to make these conquests, it was a more difficult task to retain them; for Macedonia, exhausted by continual levies of men, could not furnish efficient garrisons. Alexander removed this difficulty by protecting the conquered from oppression: by showing respect to their religion; by leaving the civil government in the hands of the native rulers who had hitherto possessed it; and by confiding to Macedonians the command only of the garrisons left in the chief places, and in the newly established colonies. To alter as little as possible in the internal organization of the countries he conquered, was his fundamental principle.

Alexander having heard that great disorder had been com-

mitted in Persia during his absence, placed the principal part of the army, the elephants and the baggage, under Hephæstion, with orders to proceed westward towards Susa, while he himself, with the Companion cavalry, some light infantry, and a division of archers, directed his course northward to Pasagardæ. At this city, in the centre of the royal gardens, stood the tomb of Cyrus the Great. [See the History of the Persians.] Alexander was indignant to find that, during his absence, the tomb of this truly great monarch had been violated. Every thing had been carried away but the golden couch and coffin, and the body had been badly treated. To repair this injury, was his first care. Aristobulus was ordered to restore the tomb to its pristine state, and to close the doorway with masonry, and seal it with the royal signet. The attention of Alexander was next directed to discover and punish the guilty, and the magians who had the guardianship of the tomb were put to the torture, in order to gain information. The firmness of the magians, however, or their want of knowledge on the subject, baffled their tormenters, and they were set at liberty. It is not likely, indeed, that they, or any respectable natives of Persia, were guilty of this gross outrage upon the memory of a monarch who founded the Persian greatness; whence the statement of Strabo, that the act was committed by robbers, seems to be correct: the only blame attached to the magians was their negligence.

While at Pasagardæ, Atropates, the Median satrap, conducted Baryaxes in chains to Alexander. This man, encouraged by Alexander's absence, had usurped the royal tiara and the title of the king of the Medes and Persians, and had been captured by Atropates, with several of his supporters, the whole of whom were ordered to be immediately executed.

Alexander next led his troops to Persepolis. On viewing the havoc which he had made there in a fit of drunkenness, as related in the History of the Persians, [see page 14,] it is said that deep feelings of compunction was excited in his breast, and that he expressed remorse for the deed. This was natural, for he had now become master of the country to which these noble works did honour, and he might have recalled to mind that the faithful Parmenio had counselled him to spare the gorgeous fabric his arms had won, in order that he might one day repose in its magnificent chambers. He might, also, be affected with the idea that he had basely murdered the giver of that counsel; for the remembrance of dark deeds haunts the minds of those who commit them.

On the arrival of Alexander at Persepolis, he was called upon again to inflict chastisement upon an eminent subject. While he was in India, Phrasaortes, who was satrap of Persis, died, and the vacant office was assumed by Orxines, without a warrant for the act. This had not been resented by the monarch; and it is probable that if his conduct had been loyal and just, he would have been confirmed in his office. Orxines, however, was accused by his countrymen of many enormous crimes, and being unable to repel their charges, he was crucified. The satrapy of Persis was given to Peucestas, who had saved the life of Alexander in the fort of the Mallians.

Although Alexander had treated the brahmins of India, in general, in the most cruel manner, for their opposition to his ambition, he could not avoid admiring their philosophical spirit and powers of endurance. Dr. Hales relates an instance of this. He says that the conqueror once took ten who were reputed the wisest and ablest of this class, and had done him great mischief, by fomenting revolts. To make trial of their skill, he proposed to them the hardest questions, declaring that the man who answered worst should be executed first, and the rest in order; and he appointed the eldest to be judge.

He asked the first, "Which were most numerous, the living or the dead?" He answered, "The living; for the dead no longer exist."*

The second, "Whether the earth or the sea produced the largest animals?" He answered, "The earth; for the sea is part of it:" which answer is paradoxical, for the sea animals are the largest.

The third, "Which was the craftiest of all animals?" "That," he replied, "with which man is yet unacquainted;" meaning, probably, man himself. Scripture says, "The heart is deceitful above all things—who can know it?" Jer. xvii. 9.

The fourth, "Why he persuaded Sabbas to revolt?" "Because," he rejoined, "I wished him either to live or die with honour."

The fifth, "Which do you think oldest, the day or the night?" He answered, "The day, by one day." Alexander appearing surprised at this solution, the philosopher told

* According to Strabo, the Indian brahmins hold the present state of life an embryo only; but death a birth unto the real life, and the happy life to those who seek wisdom.

him, "abstruse questions must have abstruse answers." It is probable that this reply had reference to "a day of Brahma," the Creator, which in their enigmatical philosophy contained a *calpa*, or 1000 *maha yugas*, and a *maha yuga*, 4,320,000 years.

The sixth, "What were the best means for a man to make himself loved." He replied, "If possessed of great power, do not make yourself feared."

The seventh, "How may a man become a god?" "By doing," he replied, "what is impossible for man to do." This reply finely exposed the impious pretensions of Alexander.

The eighth, "Which is strongest, life or death?" "Life," was the reply; "because it bears so many evils."

The ninth, "How long is it good for a man to live?" "So long," replied the philosopher, "as he does not prefer death to life:" thereby intimating fortitude and resignation to their fate.

Turning to the judge, Alexander ordered him to give sentence. "In my opinion," said the sage, "they have all answered one worse than another." "If this is thy judgment," said Alexander, "thou shalt die first." "Not so," replied the sage, "unless you choose to break your word; for you declared the man that answered worst should suffer first."

Pleased with their replies, the monarch loaded these brahmins with presents, and dismissed them, seeking to conciliate them by kindness.

Nor was this the only occasion on which Alexander showed kindness to the brahmins. At Taxila, he was desirous of prevailing upon one of them to form a part of his train; but Dandarris, the senior brahmin, sternly refused to follow him himself, or to permit any of his disciples; at the same time pouring contempt upon the idea of Alexander being the son of a deity, and reprobating his senseless lust of conquest. But though Dandarris refused to follow Alexander, another brahmin, of the name of Calanus, was prevailed upon to accompany him. This it is that called forth the foregoing remarks. Calanus, who was seventy-three years of age, followed Alexander throughout his Indian campaign, and marched with him through the Gedrosian desert into Persis. While at Persepolis, or Pasagardæ, (it is not known which,) his health having declined, and his existence become irksome, he resolved to die. He requested Alexander to permit him to end his days after the manner of his sect, by a voluntary sacrifice of himself upon the funeral pile: and after some

hesitation, his request was granted. Ptolemy, son of Lagus, was ordered to superintend the erection of the pile, and the whole of the Macedonian force was drawn out, under arms, in honour of the philosopher. Every thing being ready, Calanus was carried to the spot, and amid the sound of the trumpets, and the blast of the clarions, and the din of the multitude, he lay in the midst of the flames without a motion or a groan, till he ceased to breathe.

Diodorus informs us that the Macedonians differed in opinion respecting this action. Some condemned it, as the action of fanaticism; others imagined it proceeded from vain glory; while others applauded the heroism which had enabled Calanus to triumph over death. Calanus was neither fanatic, vain-glorious, nor heroic. Instructed by the vain philosophy of his sect, he was sincere in his desire to escape from the ills of life, imagining that no after calamities would overtake him—that he would, indeed, by this self-sacrifice, dismiss his soul to happiness in another world. This is one of the most fatal machinations that the evil one has practised upon the sons of men. Once passed the boundaries of death, and he is then sure of his votaries.

> Dew-drops may deck the turf that hides the bones,
> But tears of godly grief ne'er flow within.—COWPER.

It is an awful thing to rush thus madly into the presence of our Maker and Judge. And yet not among the brahmins of India only do mankind thus unwisely act. Daily is it told among professing Christians, that some poor sinner has gone with his life in his hand before the judgment-seat of God. Neglecting the sublime philosophy of the Bible, that alone teaches unmixed truth, and bids us to wait all our appointed days till our change come, some little cross in life, which it is our duty to bear, and which nature itself would soon throw off, makes life a burden, and death is preferred with all its awful consequences. The cords of life are severed in twain, and the soul of the sinner launches out into a dread eternity, unprepared, and lost to hope and heaven.

Wide spread as Alexander's conquests were, his ambition was yet more boundless; nor had he learned yet to curb the unruly passion. While at Persepolis, he meditated schemes of future adventure; some of them more daring and gigantic than those he had already executed. According to ancient authors, his designs, as now unfolded, were the exploration of the mouths of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and the shore of

the Persian Gulf; the circumnavigation of the Arabian and African coasts; the subjugation of Africa; the reduction of Carthage; the navigation of the Euxine Sea, in order to conquer the Scythians; and the prostration of the Roman power, then in its infancy. But the designs he formed were brought to nought; a part only of his first project being carried into effect. Bounds were set to the limit of his power, and it was in vain for him to attempt to pass those bounds.

Alexander at length commenced his march to Susa. When he reached the bridge over the Karoon, the modern Pasi-Tigris, he was gratified at finding Nearchus with his fleet waiting for him. The troops disembarked, and they proceeded together to Susa. On his arrival there, the Susians accused Abulites, the satrap, and his son Oxathres, of spoliation and tyranny, and being convicted, they were sentenced to die. Harpalus also, satrap of Babylonia, who had been the friend of Alexander in his youth, having wasted the treasures of Babylonia in profligacy and riot, fled for fear, on his approach, taking with him 5000 talents, about 1,000,000*l.* sterling, and 6000 well armed and disciplined soldiers, who sold their services to him. Harpalus first took refuge in the promontory of Tænarus, now cape Matapau, after which he went to Athens, in hopes of raising a revolt there. It is said that Harpalus bribed the popular orators largely to forward his views, and that Demosthenes yielded to the influence of the traitor's gold, for which he was afterwards banished. Notwithstanding, he was disappointed in his hopes, and he returned to Tænarus, and led his troops to Crete, where he was slain by Thimbron, one of his associates. These frequent rebellions and delinquencies had the effect of making Alexander suspicious and severe: thus a worm was at the root of his enjoyments.

One distinguishing feature of Alexander's line of policy, after his return to Persia, was the amalgamation of the Persians and Grecians. In order to effect this object, he brought about the marriage of eighty of his principal officers with Persian and Median females of rank, who were all married on one day, and to each of the brides he gave a liberal dower. He also ordered a register to be made of all the Greek soldiers who had married Asiatic wives, and though the number was found to be more than 10,000, each of them was presented with a wedding portion according to his rank. At the same time, Alexander took to himself a plurality of wives from the Persian royal family. In addition to Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, the Bactrian chief, he married Barcine, also called

Statira, eldest daughter of Darius; and Aristobulus affirms that he likewise took to wife Parysatis, the youngest daughter of Ochus. By this step Alexander might hope to be looked upon as the lawful sovereign of Persia. These marriages were celebrated according to the Persian ceremony, and with oriental magnificence.

Plutarch, seizing the spirit of these regulations, thus apostrophizes Xerxes for the folly of uniting Asia and Europe by a bridge of boats. "O foolish barbarian, in vain didst thou labour abundantly about the Hellespontine bridge! It is thus that intelligent kings unite Europe to Asia; not by timbers, nor by cords, nor by inanimate and insensible bands, but by uniting both races in lawful love, sober wedlock, and intercommunities of children." It was doubtless a wise political measure, tending to the preservation of his crown, and peace in his dominions for the time being.

The munificence which Alexander displayed on the occasion of the marriage of himself and his officers was eclipsed soon after by another act of generosity. Like most of their brethren in arms, the Macedonian soldiers were a thriftless race, and though they had plundered both Persians and Indians of a vast amount, they had spent their ill-gotten treasures, and were now universally compelled to resort to the usurer, and to rely upon future plunder to discharge their engagements. Alexander knew this, and thinking to secure their gratitude and affection, it is said that he distributed among them no less than 20,000 talents, or above 4,000,000*l.* sterling. On such as had distinguished themselves he bestowed gifts, in proportion to their rank and services, and he awarded crowns of gold to Peucestas, Leonnatus, Nearchus, Onesicritus, and Hephæstion.

Friendship is not sincere when cemented by gold only. The mutual good understanding which the largesses of Alexander had created between himself and his soldiers was but of momentary duration. The 30,000 youths, whom, previous to his Indian expedition he had selected from the north-eastern provinces, were grown up to manhood, and he now directed them to be brought to Susa. On their arrival, they were reviewed by Alexander, and being pleased with their high state of discipline and fine appearance, he gave them the name of *Epigoni*, or successors. At the same time Alexander adopted the Median dress. This gave offence to the Macedonians. They saw that it was the design of Alexander to replace them by Persians, and recollecting, also, that the Companion cavalry

was recruited from the Bactrian, Sogdian, Parthian, and the north-east and central provinces, and that the fifth division of it was composed chiefly of Persians, and wholly officered by Persian nobles, they broke out into long and deep murmurs, which ended in revolt.

It has been recorded, that one of the designs of Alexander was the navigation of the Persian Gulf. A part of this project he now resolved to execute, and accordingly, placing the main body of the army under Hephæstion, whom he commanded to march towards Ecbatana, his northern capital, he himself marched from Susa, and embarked on the Pasi-Tigris. Before he reached the mouth of that river, he divided his fleet; despatching the heavy vessels into the Shat-al-Arab, through the canal of Hafar, while he descended to the gulf with the light ships, and explored the delta of the Tigris and Euphrates, and then ascended the Shat-al-Arab to the spot where Hephæstion was encamped. After the junction of his forces, Alexander proceeded up the Tigris, and after passing many dykes,* now called bunds, which retarded his progress, he came to Opis, a large and populous city on the Physcus, near its confluence with the Tigris.

It was at Opis that the smouldering discontent of the Macedonians burst forth. When the monarch arrived at Opis, it was the season for celebrating the Macedonian Olympiad, and the festival was directed to be proclaimed. The course of events seemed to run smoothly, when it was publicly announced, that all Grecian exiles, save murderers and robbers of temples, might return to their homes. At the same time, Alexander called the whole of the Greeks together, and informed them

* Rauwolf, a German naturalist, who descended the Euphrates A. D. 1574, thus speaks of these dykes: "Our master was much troubled because the river was often stopped up at the sides with great stones that made the river swell; for there was a great number of large and high water engines on wheels, and these stones were laid to lead the stream to them, to make them work, for it often happened that two of them stood close together, which took up so much of the river that we had hardly room to pass by them in the middle of the stream, wherefore he was forced to have great care to find the right way where he might pass without danger. The reason why these water wheels are so much in use is, because the river doth not overflow, as the Nile, to water the grounds, neither doth it reign here sufficiently to moisten the weeds and garden plants, that they may not be burnt by the great heat of the sun, wherefore they must look out for such means as will supply this want. To do this, they erect water wheels, whereof three or four stand behind one another, in the river, which go night and day, and dip up water out of the river, which is emptied into peculiar channels, that are prepared on purpose to water all the ground."

that he designed to discharge all whom age or infirmity rendered unfit for service, or who were tired of bearing arms, that they also might return home. Those who wished to remain were promised such rewards as would make their brethern at home envious, and desirous of joining their ranks. This was intended to please the Macedonian army; but it had the contrary effect. Looking upon it as a wanton insult, terms of anger, reproach, and contumely were heard on every hand. Some taunted Alexander with the adoption of the Persian dress and manners; others with arming the Persian youth in the Grecian fashion, and his admission of barbarians into the cavalry; while others, more bold than the rest, told him, that his father Ammon and himself might henceforth subjugate the world by themselves.

It would not appear that Alexander was wholly unprepared for this ill feeling among his soldiers; for in the midst of the tumult he leaped from his seat, and followed by his guards and chief officers, rushed into the crowd, and seizing thirteen of the principal mutineers, he ordered them to be immediately executed. This resolute movement and measure awed the clamorous multitude into silence, and before they had recovered their surprise, Alexander ascended the tribunal, whence he uttered the following vindication of his conduct, as related by Arrian.

"It is not to restrain your impatience to return to your native home, Macedonians, that I address you. You have my consent to go where you please. I only wish to remind you what you once *were*, and what you now *are*.

"Duty directs me to commence my speech with my father Philip. When he ascended the throne of Macedonia, he found you a vagrant people, clad in sheep skins, and feeding your scanty flocks on the mountains, to retain possession of which you contended, often in vain, with the Illyrians, Triballians, and Thracians. Philip led you from the mountains to the plains; arrayed you in coats of cloth; accustomed you to discipline; taught you to rely for safety on your own courage, rather than on your fastnesses; collected you in cities, and adorned you with laws and morals; and raised you to be masters of those barbarians, by whom yourselves and goods were ofttimes led and carried away. To Macedonia he added a large part of Thrace, and he gave facilities to commerce by subduing the maritime towns, and enabled you to work the mines in security. By his prowess. you obtained the ascendency over the Thessalians, before whom you once fled af-

frighted. For you, he humbled the Phocians, and by that act opened a broad avenue into Greece, instead of a narrow and difficult pass through which you were accustomed to enter. The Thebans and Athenians, who were always plotting against Macedonia, were by our united efforts overcome at Chæronea; so that instead of being vassals to the former, and paying tribute to the latter, they derived their security from our hands. Passing into Peloponnesus, he regulated affairs there also, and was declared generalissimo of all the rest of Greece in the expedition against Persia; a glory that reflects equal honour on the Macedonians with himself. Such were the benefits conferred on you by my father: they were great, considered in themselves, but trifling compared with what I have done for you.

"When I placed the crown upon my head, all that I possessed was a few gold and silver cups, and sixty talents in the treasury; while I was burdened with a debt, contracted by my father, of 500 talents. I borrowed 800 more; and by the aid of that sum, I led you from a country that could not well maintain yourselves, accomplished the passage of the Hellespont, and that, notwithstanding the Persians were masters at sea. By my cavalry I defeated the satraps of Darius, and added to your empire all Ionia, Ætolia, both Phrygias, and Lydia. I took Miletus by storm, and you reap the fruits of all the provinces which then submitted. The revenues of Egypt, and Cyrene, which I acquired without striking a blow, were yours. Cœlo-Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia are yours. Yours also are Babylon, Susa, and Bactria. The opulence of Lydia, the treasures of Persia, the goods of India are yours. You have become satraps, generals, and officers of every degree. After all my toils, what have I reserved for myself except this purple robe and tiara? I possess nothing beyond. All my treasures are yours, kept for your use; for I have no motive to keep them for myself. I feed on the same fare with yourselves; I take the same sleep. My fare, indeed, is not equal to that of the luxurious among you; and I have often watched, that you might sleep securely.

"It may be said, however, that I have acquired these by your labours and toils, while I have undergone neither. Which of you laboured more for me than I did for him? Whoever has wounds, let him show them, and I will show mine. There is no part of my body in front unwounded. I have been wounded by the sword in hand, and by javelins, darts, and arrows in distant, and stones from the enemy's engines

have struck me to the earth. Yet for your emolument and glory I have led you through every land, and over seas, mountains, rivers, plains, and deserts.

"I have united you in the same bands of wedlock as myself, and your children will be kinsmen to my children. Without asking how your debts were contracted, I discharged them, though your pay has been liberal without precedent, and your plunder immense. On many of you I have bestowed crowns of gold, lasting monuments of your valour and my esteem; and those who fell in battle have been honoured with tombs on the field, and brazen statues at home; while their parents are had in honour, and are exempted from all public service and imposts.

"And now, such of you as are unfit for war, I intended to dismiss you, so as to be objects of envy at home; but since you all wish to depart, go! And when you have arrived at home, tell that your king Alexander, who conquered the Persians, Medes, Bactrians, and Sacæ; who overthrew the Uxians, Arachosians, and Drangians; who acquired Parthia, Hyrcania, Chorasmia, to the shores of the Caspian; who surmounted the Caucasus and Caspian gates, and passed the Oxus and Tanais, and the river Indus, passed by none before but Bacchus; and after crossing the Hydaspes, and Acesines, and Hydraotes, would have led you over the Hyphasis had not your hearts failed you; who navigated through both the mouths of the Indus to the ocean; who crossed the desert of Gedrosia, which none ever passed with an army before, acquiring Carmania in the way:—tell your countrymen, I say, that after he had done all this, and after his fleet had sailed round from India to Persia, and you had arrived at Susa in triumph, you deserted him, and turned him over to the care of vanquished barbarians. This tale will perhaps gain you glory among men, and favour with the gods. Depart!"

Descending from the tribunal, Alexander took his way to the palace, attended by his friends and body guards. For two days, he shut himself up from society, expecting in the mean time that the Macedonians would make some overtures for a reconciliation. Still, though mute astonishment had seized upon them through his resolute conduct and harangue, they gave no signs of pacific intentions. On the third day, therefore, Alexander proceeded to form an army from among his new subjects. This army was constituted on the model of the Grecian. It had its Agema, Hypaspists, and Companion infantry and cavalry; the foot company was called the Argy-

raspides, and the horse company, the king's guard. The pride of the Macedonians was now appealed to, and it had the desired effect. Their courage vanished, and their grief was unbounded. Hurrying to the palace, they piled their arms before it, in token of submission, protesting their repentance and willingness to give up those who had led them astray, and declaring that they would remain on the spot till their pardon was sealed. When Alexander was informed of this, he came out to meet them, and seeing their dejection, and hearing their lamentations, he wept with them. He then received them into full favour again, and dismissed them, shouting and singing pæans as they returned to the camp.

The conduct of Alexander, on this occasion, shows how well he understood the art of governing the passions of his soldiers. It was his skill in this art, indeed, that enabled him to make the proud boasts with which his speech teems. He knew that they were instruments in his hands, willing and able to aid him in his lust of conquest, and that he had only occasion to appeal to their pride of eminence in feats of arms, in order to make them subservient to his pleasure. No other leader could be found of such consummate abilities, otherwise it is probable that the Macedonians might have ranged themselves, during this outbreak, under his banners, to commit fresh ravages upon their brethren of the human race. Alexander and his Macedonian forces seem alike to have been formed for each other. Both were actuated by the same fierce desire for plunder and conquest.

The reconciliation of Alexander and the Macedonian troops was celebrated by offerings to the gods, and a public banquet. It is said that 9000 Grecians and Persians partook of the festal cheer. Next to Alexander were the chief Macedonians, the chief Persians were next, and the rest of the guests were seated according to their rank and country. At the feast, harmony prevailed, and the Grecian augurs and Persian magi prayed for the lasting prosperity and union of the two nations.

Notwithstanding this reconciliation had been effected, the plan of disbanding the veterans was persisted in. About 10,000 were sent home, under the command of Craterus, with their full pay and a gratuity of a talent each, about 200*l.* sterling. Their offspring were retained in Persia, Alexander promising to educate them in the Grecian manner, and to restore them at a future time to their parents. Beyond this commission, Craterus was directed to supersede Antipater in

the vice-royalty of Macedonia and the superintendence of Greece, while Antipater was to proceed to Asia with new levies, to fill the station held there by Craterus. The parting scene between Alexander and his veterans is described by ancient historians as being most affecting, all weeping. It had been well for the honour of humanity, had their tears been mutually shed over the desolations they had caused in the earth, rather than on account of their inability to increase the heavy score of guilt and blood.

Alexander now directed his march towards Ecbatana. In five days he reached Sambana, and in three days more he came to Celonæ, which was inhabited by the descendants of a Bœotian colony, and which appears to have been situated near the site of the modern Ghilanee, on the south-western side of Mount Zagros. Crossing the chain of Zagros, Alexander traversed Bagistane, a delightful and beautiful country, in the neighbourhood of which the Persian royal stud was kept. Alexander halted here for thirty days, during which time a quarrel took place between Hephæstion and Eumenes, the king's secretary, which demanded the interposition of his authority.

On his arrival at Ecbatana, Alexander offered sacrifice to the gods in thanksgiving for the success of his arms.

> Emperors and kings, how oft have temples rung
> With impious thanksgiving, the Almighty's scorn!
> How oft above their altars have been hung
> Trophies that led the good and wise to mourn
> Triumphant wrong, battle of battle born,
> And sorrow that to fruitless sorrow clung.—WORDSWORTH.

Gymnastic games and theatrical representations succeeded, and joy reigned throughout the Grecian army. In the midst of these rejoicings, however, a severe shock was given to the monarch's feelings by the sudden death of Hephæstion, who appears to have fallen a victim to his excesses. The grief of Alexander was excessive on this occasion; and if ancient historians could be implicitly credited, his affection gave rise to many insane actions. One, however, as recorded by Arrian, appears to have been true. He wrote to Cleomenes, the rapacious governor of the eastern division of Egypt, directing that a temple should be erected to Hephæstion in Alexandria, and another in the island of Pharos, and that all legal writings should be inscribed with the name of the deceased; adding, that if on his return to Egypt he should find these temples built, all his past misdeeds should be forgiven,

and he should have license to commit the same for the future! The funeral of the favourite Hephæstion was of the most magnificent kind. It is said, but it savours of exaggeration, that the expense of it amounted to 10,000 talents, about 2,000,000*l.* sterling.

So deep was Alexander's grief for the death of Hephæstion, that his courtiers advised the tumult of warfare to arouse him from his melancholy. Alexander readily responded to this strange advice: war being most consonant to his feelings. Prey was also soon discovered. In the mountains, south of Ecbatana, now called Looristaun, in a part of which dwelt the Uxians, there was a warlike people, denominated the Cossæans. These people had never been subdued by the Persian kings; but, on the contrary, had been accustomed to demand and receive a present from them when they traversed their fastnesses, in their way from Babylon to Ecbatana. Against these Cossæan robbers Alexander resolved, though it was winter, to march. Dividing his army into two bodies, one commanded by Ptolemy Lagus, and the other by himself, he attacked them on their own mountains, whither they had fled, on his approach, for safety; conceiving them to be inaccessible fortresses. They were soon undeceived. Alexander was a different warrior to the kings of Persia. At the head of the light armed foot, himself and Ptolemy climbed up the rocks, and either compelled those who had sheltered themselves there to descend, or blocked up the mouths of their caves, and left them to be wasted by famine. The result was, that, after a campaign of forty days, the Cossæans were compelled to submit to his authority. To secure their obedience, forts and towns were directed to be built in various parts of their territory.

About this time, Alexander planned a voyage of discovery, to obtain accurate information as to the nature and extent of the Caspian Sea; and he despatched Heraclides, son of Argæus, into Hyrcania, with a body of shipwrights, to construct a fleet for that purpose.

Influenced by the affection which the Babylonians had manifested towards him, and by the fertility of Babylonia, Alexander chose Babylon for the metropolis of his empire. To this city he now, B. C. 423, directed his march. In his way thither, he gave directions for collecting whatever Grecian statues or other curiosities had been brought by Xerxes or his officers out of Greece into the Persian dominions, that they might be restored.

Arrian says, that when he had crossed the right bank of the Tigris, on his way to Babylon, he was met by a deputation of Chaldean priests, who entreated him to suspend his progress, as the oracle of Belus had declared that his immediate entrance into the city would be productive of fatal consequences to him. Alexander was startled by this augury for a moment; but afterwards, suspecting that the Babylonian priests wished to hinder him from going thither, that he might not detect their peculation of the sacred treasury, and apply the money to rebuilding the temple, for which purpose he had placed it at their disposal on a former occasion, [see the History of the Persians, page 266,] he repeated this line to his friends, from Euripides,

He the best prophet is who guesses best,

and made known to the priests that it was his intention to proceed. Disconcerted by this repulse, and in order to preserve the semblance of solicitude for the welfare of Alexander, "At least," they replied, "if thou must needs enter Babylon, avoid entering with thy face to the west; but take a circuit, and enter towards the east." Alexander assented to this; but he found access on that side impracticable by marshes and inundations, and he was under the necessity of returning and entering with his face towards the west, in the face of the predicted danger, which he appears to have in reality believed, notwithstanding his taunt derived from the page of the poet. "He had often employed superstition as an engine of state policy," says Dr. Hales, "when he represented himself as the son of Ammon, and he now fell a prey to it himself; illustrating the truth of Plutarch, that superstition, like water, always flows to the grounds which are low and depressed."

While he was on the road to Babylon, and as soon as he had arrived at it, Alexander received embassies from the Lybians, Carthaginians, Ethiopians, Lucanians, Bruttians, Etruscans, European Scythians, Celts and Iberians, to solicit his friendship or avert his hostility. From the Greek republics, also, deputies were sent to congratulate him, and to offer him the customary present of a crown of gold. Some of these deputies were commissioned to procure his intervention for the settlement of religious, domestic, and foreign disputes, and some to solicit the revocation of the decree by which banished citizens were restored to their native cities. All these deputies were received, and listened to with marked attention, and they were dismissed with

courteous speeches and tokens of esteem. In order to win still more the good will of the Greeks, he delivered the Grecian statues which had been discovered to these ambassadors, to be conveyed back to the cities whence they had been removed. By some authors it is asserted that the Romans sent ambassadors, at this time, to Babylon; but Arrian, who is the most veracious historian of these ages, questions the truth of this assertion.

Alexander designed that Babylon should not only be the metropolis of his empire, but also a port and naval arsenal. He gave orders for a basin to be excavated capable of admitting a thousand sail, to which docks and magazines for stores were to be attached. The ships of Nearchus were already arrived, with some from Phenicia, while others were directed to be built with the wood of the cypress trees in Babylonia. Micalus, a Clazemonian, was despatched to Syria and Phenicia to engage sailors, and to obtain emigrants to people the islands and shores of the Persian Gulf. Many of the materials requisite for the equipment of the fleet were also obtained from these provinces.

The design for which Alexander gave orders for the collection of this armament was, to invade Arabia. Ancient historians give the following reasons for this step: 1. The Arabians had sent no ambassadors to acknowledge his supremacy. 2. They worshipped only two divinities, Uranus and Dionysius, and he was desirous of making them acknowledge him as a third. 3. Arabia abounded in myrrh, frankincense, cassia, spikenard, and cinnamon. 4. A fourth and more rational reason might be, that he desired to secure his frontier provinces from the continual incursions of the restless and unconquerable descendants of Ishmael.

During the time these preparations were going forward for the conquest of Arabia, Alexander was engaged in projecting domestic improvements. He went in person down the Euphrates to examine the canal called Pallacopas. This canal received the redundancy of waters occasioned by the melting of the snow on the mountains into the river Euphrates, thereby preventing the evils of inundations. When, however, the snows were wholly melted, and the river sank within its usual bounds, it became necessary to prevent its waters from diverging into the Pallacopas, and it was closed by a dam, the accomplishment of which object is said to have occupied 10,000 men during three months. It was the object of Alexander to remedy this evil, and to preserve an equable flow of water necessary for the purposes of agriculture; and accordingly,

having examined the country towards the lake, he gave directions that a new opening should be made to it about four miles from the mouth, which, it was conceived, would answer the purpose. After this, proceeding into the Pallacopas, he steered towards the Arabian frontier, where he founded a city,* peopling it with some veteran Greek mercenaries.

In sailing through the marshes, an accident occurred which, though trivial in its nature, was afterwards regarded by that superstitious age as ominous. As Alexander was steering near one of the sepulchral monuments of the ancient Assyrian kings, many of which stood in the islands with which the lake abounded, a gust of wind blew the diadem from his brow, and lodged it upon the reeds growing near the tomb. One of the sailors plunged into the water to recover it, and wishing to preserve the ensign of royalty from being wetted, he placed it on his head, for which he had a talent given him as a reward for its recovery, but was immediately put to death, or, as Aristobulus says, scourged, for his indiscretion in putting it on his head.

On his return to Babylon, Alexander found large reinforcements for his army, consisting of Persians, Taperians, and Cossæans, which were brought by the satrap Peucestas, besides a body of Carian infantry conducted by Philoxenus, another of Lydian infantry furnished by Menander, and a division of cavalry by Menidas. The Persians, with a small body of Greeks intermingled, were formed into a separate phalanx by Alexander, the superior command of which was given to Macedonian officers.

It was about this time that Alexander gave directions for the rebuilding of the temple of Belus, which Dr. Hales suggests might be to conciliate the Babylonian god, and avert his anger. [See the History of the Assyrians.]

While these works were proceeding, fresh deputies arrived from the Grecian states, bringing with them their usual gifts of golden crowns, and a commission to yield to him divine honours! This was, doubtless, a grateful offering to the pride of Alexander; but it brought shame upon the adulators, for the head of their new divinity was about to be laid low in the dust, and all his greatness to pass away for ever.

* This city has been known in different ages by the appellations of Hira, Almondari, Nigeef, and Meshed Ali: the latter of these names is supposed to have been derived from its being the burial place of the caliph Ali.

The preparations for the departure of the expedition against Arabia being completed, Alexander offered a magnificent sacrifice for the success of his arms, after which he gave a feast to his principal officers. He had sat late and drank deeply, when Medius, a Thessalian of Larissa, invited him to join a party of his boon companions at supper. The invitation was accepted, and the night and the following day were spent in revelling with Medius. Towards evening, however, disease began to manifest itself, and after bathing, Alexander retired to bed in the house of his host. The fever with which he was attacked, Dr. Fordyce observes, appears to have been an irregular semitertian fever, caught by surveying the marshes adjoining the Euphrates, and increased by his carousals. On the morning after the prostration of his powers by it, he was carried on a couch to perform the daily sacrifice, and in the evening he was rowed over the river to a garden, where he passed the night. Still dreaming of conquest, in the course of the next day he gave orders that the army should be put in motion on the fourth day, and that the fleet, with which he himself meant to proceed, should sail on the day following. On the fourth day, there was an exacerbation of his disorder, which confined him to his couch, so that these orders were countermanded. The next day, however, brought so much relief, that fresh orders were issued for the armament to be ready to depart in three days. These orders were also set aside; for during these three days the fever rapidly gained ground, and at the end of that time it was evident that nature was fast sinking. On the ninth day, he was with difficulty carried to the altar, again to offer sacrifice; and after this ceremony, he was removed to the palace, whither he was followed by his principal officers, to whom he gave audience. The fever raged during the whole of the night and the next day, and he was now so far reduced by it, that he who had given laws to half Europe and Asia could no longer intimate a wish by the sound of his voice. Under these humiliating and melancholy circumstances, the Macedonians, upon their urgent request, were permitted to pass silently by his bedside. He raised his head, fixed his eyes on them, and made an attempt to stretch forth his hand, thereby indicating a recognition of his partners in war; but he could no longer command them. It was evident that his end was approaching, and as a last resource, his friends Python, Attalus, Demophoon, Peucestas, Cleomenes, Menidas, and Seleucus, after spending the tenth

night in the temple of Serapis,* consulted the god whether it would be better to convey the king thither? They were forbidden by the oracle, says Arrian, to remove him, and had scarcely reached the chamber of their sovereign, and made known this reply, before he ceased to exist, B. C. 322.

Thus, says Dr. Hales, was cut off in the prime of life and in all the pride of conquest, "Alexander the Great," after he had lived thirty-two years and eight months, and reigned in all twelve years and eight months from his father Philip's death. "Therefore the he goat waxed very great: and when he was strong, the great horn was broken," Dan. viii. 8.

Many omens are recorded by ancient historians as preceding the death of Alexander, but they are passed over in this history, as not being worthy of notice. It is probable, however, that these were all promulgated by the magi, who were doubtless well acquainted with the prophecies of Daniel, which foretold his early doom and the desolation of Babylon. Looking at them in this light, it was a golden opportunity for the magi to raise their credit with the people; for they knew from experience that the predictions of this great prophet would never fail, and therefore any assertion founded upon them must surely come to pass.

The nature of these omens may be seen in the following tradition respecting Alexander, many of which still exist in Persia. "The astrologers had foretold, that when Alexander's death was near, he would place his throne where the ground was of iron and the sky of gold. When the hero, fatigued with conquest, directed his march towards the Grecian states, he was one day seized with a bleeding at the nose. A general who was near, unlacing his coat of mail, spread it for the prince to sit on; and to defend him from the sun, held a golden shield over his head. When Alexander saw himself in this situation, he exclaimed, "The prediction of the astrologers is accomplished; I no longer belong to the living! Alas! that the work of my youth should be finished! Alas! that the plant of the spring should be cut down like the ripened tree of autumn!" He wrote to his mother, saying, he should shortly quit this earth, and pass to the regions of the dead. He requested that the alms given on his death should be be-

* Serapis was a deity, honoured in heathen mythology as a restorer of health, as was also Esculapius. As such he appears to have been worshipped at Babylon. Other attributes were, however, ascribed to this fabulous deity in different cities. The rites of Serapis were performed with abominable licentiousness in some cities.

stowed on such as had never seen the miseries of this world, and had never lost those who were dear to them. In conformity to his will, his mother sought, but in vain, for such persons: all had tasted the woes and griefs of life; all had lost those whom they loved. She found in this a consolation, as her son had intended, for her great loss. She saw that her own was the common lot of humanity.

The praises of Alexander have been recorded by historians from the age in which he lived to the present time. Arrian, in the height of his admiration, observes, that "he resembled no other man, and seemed to have been born by a special providence." What he accomplished in the short compass of his reign was certainly wonderful, his measures being executed with all the rapidity of the double-winged leopard, as predicted by Daniel. Nor can there be any doubt that he was an instrument in the hands of Divine Providence. Scripture itself speaks of him as such; but it does not therefore speak of him in terms of praise. On the contrary, it represents him as ambitious of dominion, and his ambition as being made subservient to the Divine will and pleasure. When that was executed, the same Providence checked his ambitious career, and to humble his pride and impious arrogance, soon mingled him with the dust. To attach glory to deeds of rapine and slaughter, is unworthy of a rational being. Upon the same ground might we honour the beasts of the forest for devouring the lamb of the mead, instead of terming them ferocious. As regards the Persians, indeed, Alexander had a plausible pretence for making war upon them. Long had they been professed enemies of the Greeks, and he had been appointed generalissimo over the latter, in order to avenge their wrongs. When, however, that conquest was completed, (the only work assigned him by Providence, and which was given him to perform, that a guilty nation might be chastised,) his career became unjust and unmerciful. The Scythian ambassador was right in his notion of the character of the conqueror, when he addressed him in these words: "What have we to do with thee? We never once set our feet in thy country. Are not those who live in woods allowed to be ignorant of thee and the place where thou comest? Thou hast boasted that the only design of thy marching is to extirpate robbers: thou thyself art the greatest robber in the world." The same may be said of the answer a pirate gave Alexander, when he asked what right he had to infest the seas? "The same that thou hast," he replied, "to infest the universe; but because I

do this in a small ship, I am called a robber, and because thou actest the same part with a fleet, thou art called a conqueror." The Almighty never delegated power to one man, to enable him to destroy another. Such would be a monstrous proposition, which right reason must ever repudiate. And yet such is palmed upon the world when men possessing power are lauded as heroes because they have destroyed their brethren of the human race. The character of Alexander, therefore, is one to which we cannot attach glory. The poet defines honour as

> The finest sense
> Of *justice* which the human mind can frame,
> Intent each lurking frailty to disclaim,
> And guard the way of life from all offence
> Suffered or done. WORDSWORTH.

Such was not the rule of Alexander's conduct. No sooner had he invaded one nation, destroying life and property, and overturning institutions dear to their possessors as life, than he commenced the same wild career of desolation upon another. Heeren remarks, that "the death of Alexander, under the peculiar circumstances of the time, was the greatest loss mankind could experience. From the Indus to the Nile, the world lay in ruins; and where was now the architect to be found, that could gather up the scattered fragments, and restore the edifice?" This is fallacious. Alexander's own hand caused these ruins, and we cannot discover any display of such wide-spread philanthropy in his life, as to warrant the belief, or the hope, that he would heal the wounds he had inflicted. The lust of conquest was still his predominant passion; and his plans, as unfolded before his death, show that his thoughts were rather bent upon future desolation than on ameliorating the condition of mankind. The most essential and excellent virtues of a great prince are the following: to be a father, guardian, and shepherd of his people; to govern them by good laws; to make trade both by sea and land flourish; to encourage and protect arts and sciences; to establish peace and plenty; to preserve his subjects from aggression and injury; to maintain harmony between all orders of the state, and make them conspire, in due proportion, to the public welfare; to do justice to all his subjects, and to provide for their necessities and enjoyments of life. Such was not Alexander. His legitimate subjects of Macedonia were abandoned, that he might lord it over Asia. It cannot be denied that he

possessed some useful traits of character, of which the building so many cities in the different parts of his new empire, and the judicious choice of their sites, and the commercial projects which he conceived, are among the greatest. But these works were not projected solely for the exaltation and comfort of his species, which would alone have brought him honour. They formed a part of the dream of his ambition, as the whole tenor of his life proves.

The private character of Alexander, as recorded by ancient historians, reflects little honour on humanity. It was a strange compound of excellences and defects, in which the latter predominated. His wild ambition; his disgraceful intemperance; his love of adulation and servility; his violent anger, beneath the effects of which some of his most ardent friends were destroyed; these are fearful blots which cannot be wiped out from the pages of his history. They have been the theme of satirists and philosophers; and the conqueror of Persia, Scythia, and India was reduced by these faults below the level of the human race. His downward career of vice affords a fine comment on Juvenal's description of a sinner's progress.

"He that once sins, like him that slides on ice,
Goes swiftly down the slippery ways of vice;
Though conscience checks him, yet these rubs gone o'er,
He slides on smoothly, and looks back no more.
What sinners finish where they first begin,
And with one crime content their lust to sin?
Nature, that rude, and in her first essay,
Stood boggling at the roughness of the way,
Used to the road, unknowing to return,
Goes boldly on, and loves the path when worn."

Still, as the prosperity of Alexander increased, he became more depraved; and that which he looked upon with compunction in the early part of his career, was performed by him finally with pleasure. From the period that he had executed the work assigned to him by Providence, the overthrow of the Persian empire, he lost his reputation as a man.

And yet Alexander was learned. Plutarch says, that he was instructed by Aristotle, not only in morality and politics, but also in those abstruser branches of science which were called *acroamatic*, as taught in "private conversation" to a chosen few. This shows how vain knowledge is, and how powerless in itself to preserve the heart from sin.

This leads to another trait in the character of this great con-

queror which reflects no honour upon him. Hearing that Aristotle had published a treatise on those sciences, he wrote a letter to him, deprecating the act. "You did wrong," says he, "in publishing the acroamatic parts of science. Wherein shall we differ from others, if the sublimer knowledge we gained from you be made common to all the world? For my part, I had rather excel the bulk of mankind in the higher branches of learning, than in extent of power and dominion." This letter, as Dr. Hales observes, strongly marks his monopolizing spirit of knowledge, as well as of conquest. He knew that "knowledge is power,"—that the enlightenment of the world would tend to the debasement of those whom men in a state of ignorance and barbarism call heroes, and therefore he deprecated its diffusion. Such conduct finds imitators even in the present day. Many there are who conceive that it is a crime, and detrimental to the welfare of the community, that the poor should be enlightened. It is not so. Crime ever waits upon the footsteps of ignorance; while knowledge, sanctified by religion, makes good and loyal subjects. With universal knowledge, based upon Chistianity, universal peace will reign among the sons of men. This is the picture which scripture itself presents to our view. See Isa. xi. 9; Hab. ii. 14. It is only by this knowledge that both rulers and subjects can rightly know the ends for which they were created—can regard the sacred rights of humanity, and glorify their Maker.

Roman authors say, and moralists and theologians have commented with great eloquence on the story, that when Anaxarchus the philosopher told Alexander there were an infinite number of worlds, he wept to think it would be impossible for him to conquer them all, since he had not yet conquered one. This is no doubt mere fiction. No one in his right senses could act thus, and Alexander was no madman.* He was a frail erring man, partaking largely of the corruption of human nature, and as such demanding the tear of Christian philanthropy. Juvenal alludes to this story in a passage in which he finely shows the madness of ambition.

> "One world sufficed not Alexander's mind:
> Coop'd up, he seemed in earth and seas confin'd;

* The Roman writers seem to have taken a pleasure in representing Alexander as a madman and monster, probably because he had done more during his brief reign than Rome accomplished in three centuries, and had performed that which Crassus and Antony in vain attempted.

And, struggling, stretch'd his restless limbs about
The narrow globe to find a passage out.
Yet entered in the brick built town,* he tried
The tomb, and found the strait dimensions wide.
Death only this mysterious truth unfolds,
The mighty soul how small a body holds!"

All human greatness mingles with the dust; and its tale ends in these three emphatic words, "Here he lies."

Not man alone; his breathing bust expires;
His tomb is mortal; empires die. Where now
The Roman? Greek? They stalk an empty name!
Yet few regard them in this useful light:
Though half our learning is their epitaph.

* * * *

O Death! I stretch my view; what visions rise!
What triumphs! toils imperial! arts divine!
In wither'd laurels glide before my sight!
What length of far-famed ages, billow'd high
With human agitation, roll along
In unsubstantial images of air!
The melancholy ghosts of dead renown,
Whispering faint echoes of the world's applause,
With penitential aspect, as they pass,
ALL POINT AT EARTH, AND HISS AT HUMAN PRIDE.

YOUNG.

Reader, there is nothing on earth worthy of your supreme regard. Set your affections on things above.

* Babylon.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE.

The very first measure adopted after the death of Alexander, says Heeren, contained within itself the seeds of all the dire revolutions that afterwards ensued. Not only were the jealousy and ambition of the nobles aroused, but even the interference of the army was exhibited in the most terrific manner. Although the idea of the supremacy of the royal family was cast off only by degrees, yet the dreadfully disturbed state of that family rendered its fall inevitable.

The measure referred to by Heeren was the succession. Unmindful of death, even in his latest hours, Alexander had neglected to make a provision for the contingency.* This gave rise to a contest for a week between his generals, at the end of which time it was agreed that Philip Arrhidæus, the natural brother of Alexander, a weak person, should be elected king, and that if Roxana should bear a son, which she did shortly afterwards (Alexander Ægus) he should be associated with his uncle in the kingdom. At the same time, Perdiccas was appointed regent, or guardian, to both these princes.

In the same council, the first partition of the provinces was made. Egypt, with Libya and Cyrenaica, was assigned to Ptolemy Lagus; Cappadocia and Paphlagonia to Eumenes; Pamphylia and the greater Phrygia to Antigonus; Phrygia the lesser to Leonnatus; Caria to Cassander, the son of Antipater; Armenia to Neoptolemus; Mesopotamia to Arcesilas; Babylonia to Seleucus; Media to Atropates; Persia to Peucestas; Thrace to Lysimachus; Macedonia and Greece to

* Some writers assert that on Alexander being asked to whom he bequeathed his empire, he replied, "To the strongest;" and others affirm that he added, "I foresee my funeral games will be celebrated with strife and bloodshed." It is, however, doubtful whether these speeches were uttered by him; for Aristobulus and Ptolemy, the most veracious writers of his history, are silent on the subject.

Antipater and Craterus; Lydia to Menander; Syria and Phenicia to Laomedon; Parthia and Hyrcania to Phrataphernes; Bactriana and Sogdiana to Philip: besides several of the minor regions which were divided among generals whose names are sunk in oblivion, and several of the Asiatic provinces which were left under the government of their native princes.

This partition, however, was only the work of man, and its duration, as will be seen, was brief. That Being, who reigns alone, and is the King of kings, had decreed a different distribution. He had assigned to each his portion, and marked out its boundaries, and his will alone was to be performed, and so far as man's arrangements went, the empire was soon scattered to "the four winds of heaven."

The proceedings of this self-constituted government, all the power of which was in the hands of Perdiccas and Roxana, soon became merciless. Roxana, jealous of Statira and her sister, daughters of Darius, despatched letters, under the seal of Perdiccas, directing them to come to Babylon, where they were secretly destroyed. Sysigambis would probably have shared the same fate, but as soon as the news of Alexander's death reached her, she resolved to take away her own life. Ancient historians say, that she starved herself for grief; and Montesquieu, in his apology for, and panegyric of Alexander, asks, "What usurper but himself had his death bewailed with tears by the family whose throne he overthrew?" It is very probable, however, that Sysigambis was more affected by the strife which followed than by the death of the conqueror. She might have thought of the days when she reigned in peace and splendour with Darius, and contrasting them with those of strife on which she had fallen, might have been impelled to the rash act of self-destruction.

The scene of strife which immediately followed the death of Alexander was but the precursor of years of the same. Treading in the footsteps of the deceased conqueror, all the satraps were ambitious to rule, and none willing to obey.

The Greeks whom Alexander had established in the provinces of Upper Asia, despairing of ever again beholding the land in which they were born, as soon as they heard of the death of Alexander, armed 20,000 foot and 3000 horse, and placing Philo at their head, resolved to attempt to cut their way thither by the edge of the sword. Perdiccas, who foresaw the consequences of such an enterprise, when the spirit of independence ruled in every breast, sent Pithon to oppose

these lovers of their country; giving him the cruel order to exterminate the whole. Pithon was an ambitious man himself, and he secretly resolved to win these Greeks over to his side, that he might establish himself as a monarch. In this, however, he was disappointed. He had gained a victory over them and had bribed 3000 Greeks to join him; but the Macedonians deeming it incumbent on them, to accomplish the cruel orders of Perdiccas, slaughtered the whole of the Greeks without mercy. So thoroughly had they been trained by their deceased leader to deeds of carnage.

This expedition was followed by the Lamian war in Greece.*

During the life of Alexander, although the Greeks had submitted with seeming readiness to his sway, and were culpable in their adulation of him, yet they looked with jealous eye on his superiority, and loathed the authority of their governor, Antipater. One of the last actions of Alexander blew the embers of revolt into a flame. He had by an edict directed all the cities of Greece to recall their exiles, which caused great discontent. Many of the cities were fearful that when the exiles returned they would change the government; others doubted of their safety should the edict take effect; while others held the edict to be the abolition of their liberty. The general feeling, therefore, was that of revolt, and when Alexander died, the flames burst forth.

In this revolt, the Athenians appear to have taken the lead. On hearing of the death of Alexander, they displayed an indecent joy, and immediately began to breathe war from the rostrum. Leosthenes, a disciple of Demosthenes, was the most active on this occasion, and though opposed by the veteran Phocion with eloquence and biting sarcasm, he carried his point. A war was resolved upon, and it was agreed that a deputation should be sent to all the states of Greece to engage their accession to the league. This deputation was successful; partly from the eloquence of Demosthenes, who was at this time recalled from Megara, whither he had been banished, and partly from the love of liberty, a formidable army was drawn together from the different Grecian states, and placed under the command of Leosthenes.

As soon as Antipater heard of this outbreak, he sent to Leonnatus in Phrygia and Craterus in Cilicia, to request assistance. In the mean time, he marched at the head

* This war was so called from the name of a city near which the first battle was fought.

of 13,000 Macedonians and 600 horse towards Thessaly, whither he was followed by his fleet, consisting of 110 triremes, which cruized along the sea coasts. At first, the Thessalians declared in his favour; but they afterwards changed their sentiments, and joined the Athenians, supplying them with a strong body of cavalry.

Leosthenes was in possession of the Pylæ, or straits leading into Greece, where he waited for the arrival of Antipater. As the forces which he commanded were more numerous than those of Antipater, the latter could not support the charge, and he fled to Lamia, a small, yet strong city in Thessaly, in order to wait for succours from Asia.

Lamia was soon besieged by the Athenians. The assault was carried on with great vigour against the city, and the resistance was equally energetic. After several attempts, Leosthenes, despairing of success, changed the siege into a blockade, in order to reduce it by famine. He surrounded it with a wall of circumvallation, and a deep ditch, by which means, all supplies of provisions were cut off. The effects of famine were already felt, and the besieged entertained thoughts of surrendering, when Leosthenes advancing near the wall was slain by a stone.

On the death of Leosthenes, the army was consigned to Antiphilus, whose valour and ability were held in great reputation. In the mean time, B. C. 322, Leonnatus was marching to the assistance of the besieged. This at least was his ostensible motive; but he, also, was seized with the mania of ambition, and had designs to exalt himself. His real intention was to advance into Greece in order to make himself master of Macedonia. As soon as Antiphilus heard of his approach, he raised the siege, burned his tents, and marched to meet him. Prosperity had introduced some disorder in the Grecian camp, and many bands of soldiers had withdrawn to their homes. Their army was reduced to 20,000 foot and 3500 horse; those under Leonnatus were not quite so numerous. The battle was severely fought; but through the labour of the Thessalian cavalry, and the death of Leonnatus, the Greeks were victorious; the Macedonian phalanx was compelled to retire to eminences where the cavalry could not pursue them.

The news of this success created great joy in Athens. Festivals were celebrated and sacrifices offered, to testify their gratitude to their idol gods for the advantages they had obtained. These advantages, however, were not final in their

consequences. The siege of Lamia being raised, Antipater marched hastily to the place where the remains of the army of Leonnatus was encamped, and having joined them, held the Greeks at bay. In the mean time, Craterus, who had been long expected, arrived in Thessaly, and halted at the river Peneus. The troops he had brought with him amounted, in conjunction with those of Leonnatus, to nearly 50,000 fighting men, while those of the allies did not exceed 30,000. Craterus having resigned the command to Antipater, the latter attacked the Greeks near Cranon, and defeated them with great slaughter. Still the Greeks were not utterly subdued; for it was debated in a council of war, held immediately after, whether they should continue in the field or propose terms of accommodation to the enemy. The latter alternative was decided upon, and deputies were despatched to the camp of Antipater in the name of all the allies. Antipater replied in the spirit of a conqueror who saw his superiority. He would enter into a treaty separately with the cities of Greece, he said, or not at all. This haughty answer broke off the negotiation; but the moment he presented himself before the cities of the allies, they surrendered up their liberties, without an attempt to avert the blow. Each city was attentive only to its separate advantage, and their previous union, in which alone was strength, was thereby broken.

The Athenians and Ætolians alone stood firm in this general defection. But for their success, there was no hope. The Athenian fleet had recently been twice defeated by Clytus; and when Antipater advanced toward their city, they were not in a condition to dispute the palm of victory with him. As usual, they gave themselves up to despair. Demosthenes and his party, under the influences of this wild passion, retreated from the city. In this dilemma, those who remained turned their eyes on Phocion, and demanded his advice. "To what end," said he, "should I advise you? If you had not rejected my council, you had not known this calamity." They then called upon Demades, who had always been in the interest of the Macedonians. Demades first proposed a decree by which Demosthenes and his party, who may be considered as the sole remaining defenders of the expiring liberty of Greece, were condemned to die. Demades next proposed a decree for sending ambassadors to Antipater, who was then at Thebes, invested with full powers to negotiate a treaty of peace with him. This embassy was sent, Demades and Phocion being of the number. They found

Antipater inflexible in his desires to rule over Athens. He would listen to no other terms than those offered to him at Lamia, which were that they should yield implicitly to his authority, and suffer their affairs to be settled at his pleasure.

On receiving this reply, Phocion returned to Athens, and gained the people's consent to these measures. He then came back to Thebes, accompanied by Xenocrates, to whose virtue and talent as a philosopher the Athenians hoped Antipater would pay regard. It was a vain hope; for the conqueror eyed him with stern contempt, and in the midst of his harangue commanded him to be silent. Phocion was, however, treated courteously, and after he had concluded his harangue, Antipater replied, that he was disposed to contract an alliance with the Athenians on these conditions: "1. They should deliver up Demosthenes and Hyperides; 2. The government should be restored to its ancient state, by which all employments were to be conferred upon the wealthy; 3. They should receive a garrison in the port of Munychia; 4. That they should defray all the expenses of the war, and pay a large sum, the amount of which should be settled."

The design Antipater had in view in the dictation of this treaty was to make himself absolute master of Athens. The sage Xenocrates saw this, and when the other ambassadors expressed an opinion that the terms were moderate for men in their situation, he replied: "They are moderate for slaves, but severe for free men."

According to this treaty, the Athenians were compelled to receive a garrison of Macedonians into Munychia. These troops, under the command of Menyllus, a man of probity, took possession of the place during the festival of the Great Mysteries, and on the day when it was usual to carry the god Iacchus in procession to Eleusis. Affected by this incident, the citizens exclaimed: "Alas! the gods would formerly manifest themselves in our favour, when adversity surrounded us, by mystic visions and audible voices, to the terror of our foes; but now they cast an unpitying eye on Greece, and behold the most sacred of all days polluted and distinguished by calamities which will be associated with the memory of this sacred season through succeeding ages." It was a circumstance well calculated to cast a shadow over the rejoicings of these high-minded sons of liberty and passionate admirers of their false deities.

Great distress resulted from the second article of the terms

of peace dictated by Antipater, 12,000 citizens being excluded from employments in the state by its rigour on account of their poverty, and losing the small emoluments they had hitherto received. Some of these perished by famine amid the taunts and insults of their superiors, while others retired into Thrace, where Antipater assigned them a city and lands for their habitation.

As might be expected, the proscribed philosophers, with some of their adherents, took refuge in flight. Antipater, however, was inexorable in his vengeance against them. He despatched Archias, an actor of tragedy, with a body of men to discover them, and to bring them to him. Hyperides, Aristonicus of Marathon, and Himereus, brother of Demetrius Phalereus, were found in the temple of Ajax, and were sent to Antipater to Cleonæ, where they suffered death. Demetrius Phalereus, the disciple and friend of Theophrastus, retired to Nicanor, and was protected by Cassander. The fate of Demosthenes was tragical. He fled into the island of Calauria, and took refuge in the temple of Neptune. He was followed thither by Archias, who endeavoured to persuade him to accompany him to Antipater, promising him that no harm should befall him. Demosthenes knew the nature of his foes too well to rely on such promises, and in order to avoid falling into the hands of Antipater, he took poison, with which he had furnished himself, and under the effects of which he died.

The character of Demosthenes is one of the most prominent, and highly praised in the pages of ancient history. He was enlightened, eloquent, and endowed with an enthusiastic love of liberty. Had the Athenians acted fully and boldly according to his counsel, their liberty would doubtless have been preserved from the power of Philip. When he perished, they saw their error; and soon after they erected a statue of brass to his memory, and decreed that the eldest branch of his family should be brought up in the Prytaneum, at the public expense, from generation to generation. At the foot of the statue this inscription was engraved:

Demosthenes, if thy power had been equal to thy wisdom, the Macedonian Mars would not have triumphed over Greece.

"Patriots have toiled, and in their country's cause
Bled nobly; and their deeds, as they deserve,
Receive proud recompense. We give in charge
Their names to the sweet lyre. The' historic muse,
Proud of the treasure, marches with it down

To latest times; and Sculpture, in her turn
Gives bond in stone and ever-during brass
To guard them, and to' immortalize their trust."

COWPER.

Demosthenes struggled nobly for the liberty of his country, and he deserves to be had in continual remembrance. But there are those whose claims are nobler than those of such patriots as Demosthenes, and yet they are forgotten. These are

Those who, posted at the shrine of truth,
Have fallen in her defence;

for

Their blood is shed
In confirmation of the noblest claim,
Our claim to feed upon immortal truth,
To walk with God, to be *divinely free*,
To soar, and to anticipate the skies.

Whence springs the indifference of mankind to the claims of these noble sufferers? The answer is to be found in the fallen and depraved state of human nature. This world is preferred to the next, and human laws prized above Divine. Hence their names are not embalmed in the pages of the poets or history with that warmth their memory demands, and no marble points to the place where their ashes are laid. Their memories are embalmed only in the hearts of those who partake of the sweets of that Divine liberty which they have procured, and whose

"Freedom is the same in every state;
And no condition of this changeful life,
So manifold in cares, whose every day
Brings it own evil with it, makes it less:
For he has wings, that neither sickness, pain,
Nor penury can cripple, or confine."—COWPER.

Those possess true liberty, whose souls are set free from the thraldom of sin and Satan; all are slaves besides!

The death of Demosthenes and Hyperides caused the Athenians to mourn the loss of Philip and Alexander, and recalled to their memory the generosity with which they had been uniformly treated by those conquerors. Antipater was the reverse of a generous character. Under the mask of a private man, in a cloak of frieze, he discovered himself to be a rigid and imperious master. By the entreaties of Phocion, however, the stern conqueror eventually relaxed somewhat

in his measures. He recalled several persons from banishment, among whom was Demetrius, and reversed the sentence by which others were banished beyond the Ceraunian mountains, and the promontory of Tænarus. The exertions which Phocion made on this occasion reflect great honour on his humanity.

After thus subjecting Athens to his rule, Antipater set out for Macedonia, to celebrate the nuptials of his daughter Phila with Craterus; an event of importance to their future movements.

During the time in which these events were passing in succession, the bones of the once mighty Alexander were unburied. So busy were his followers at first in procuring for themselves honours, that his corpse lay neglected. About B. C. 321, his funeral obsequies were performed with true oriental magnificence; such, says the ancient historian, as had never been equalled in the world.

There was a current prediction, uttered doubtless in the spirit of flattery, that the place where Alexander should be buried would be rendered the most happy and flourishing in the whole earth. This gave rise to strife. Each governor contested for the disposal of a body that was to produce such happy results. Perdiccas was desirous that it should be conveyed to Ægæ in Macedonia, where the bones of the Macedonian monarchs were usually deposited. Other places were likewise proposed; but Egypt was at length adopted for his resting place. Ptolemy, who owed much to the deceased monarch, signalized his gratitude on this occasion. He marched forward to meet the funeral procession at the head of his best troops, and advanced as far as Syria. It had been proposed that the corpse should be deposited in the temple of Jupiter Ammon; but Ptolemy prevented this, and it was first deposited in the city of Memphis, and finally in Alexandria. Ptolemy raised a magnificent temple to the memory of Alexander, and rendered him those honours which were paid to demi-gods and heroes by pagan antiquity. According to Leo, an African author, who wrote in the fifteenth century, the tomb of Alexander was to be seen in his time, and he states that it was reverenced by Mohammedans as the monument of an illustrious monarch and a great prophet! So dazzled are the eyes of mankind in all ages by the glitter of human glory.

It has been seen that in the partition of the governments of Alexander's empire, Cappadocia and Paphlagonia were ap-

portioned to Eumenes. It was stipulated by the treaty that Leonnatus and Antigonus should march thither to establish him in these dominions, and dispossess the king Ariarathes of the sovereignty. The regent Perdiccas gave them instructions for this purpose; but neither Leonnatus nor Antigonus were careful of any one's interests but their own. Antigonus refused to obey the orders of another, and though Leonnatus feigned compliance, yet he was drawn off from the enterprise by the Lamian war, in which he conceived his interests were more nearly concerned; Antipater being the most powerful. Leonnatus had confessed to Eumenes that he designed to marry Cleopatra, sister of Alexander, and in her right to seize upon the reins of empire. Acting upon this, Eumenes possessed himself of the treasures of Leonnatus in the dead of night, amounting to 5000 talents of gold, about 28,000,000*l.* sterling, and retired to Perdiccas. This was a piece of service not be overlooked by the regent, and a short time after, Eumenes was conducted into Cappadocia by a large army, commanded by Perdiccas in person. Ariarathes made a vigorous defence; but his army was defeated and he was taken prisoner by Perdiccas, who, by a cruel line of policy, which he had adopted for his own aggrandizement, put him and his whole family to death. Eumenes, therefore, was established in the government of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia.

After this transaction, Perdiccas advanced with his troops to Isaura and Laranda, cities of Pisidia, with a determination to reduce them, because they had slain Balacrus, the son of Nicanor, whom Alexander had appointed their governor. Laranda was taken by assault, and all who were able to bear arms were put to the sword, while the women and children were sold for slaves. Isaura was next invested, but being a strong and populous place, it defied the power of Perdiccas till many of its inhabitants had fallen in the struggle. The rest, forseeing the final consequences of the siege, and having no hopes of mercy, determined upon self-destruction. Having appointed a sufficient number to defend the walls, they set the city on fire, consuming their parents, wives, and children, and then threw themselves into the flames. The city was abandoned to plunder, and after having collected much gold and silver from among the ashes, Perdiccas led his army into Cilicia, where he passed the winter.

On the first division of the provinces, the cruel and ambitious Perdiccas had proposed to marry Nicæa, the daughter of Antipater, believing that the union would be subser-

vient to his own interests. While he was in Cilicia, her brothers, Jollas and Archias, accompanied her thither, in order to be present at the celebration of the nuptials. But Perdiccas had changed his views on this subject. Olympias, who had always hated Antipater, having solicited him to marry Cleopatra, her daughter, and the widow of the king of Epirus, he despatched Eumenes to Sardis in Lydia, where she then was, to make proposals of marriage to that princess. In the mean time, persuaded by Alcetas, his brother, Perdiccas married Nicæa; intending to repudiate her, however, as soon as the mind of Cleopatra was known, and his ambitious designs were fully matured. As a preliminary step to his grand movement to the throne, he contrived a plan for cutting off Antigonus. He caused many accusations to be laid against him, and a day was appointed for his trial. Antigonus lulled the suspicions of Perdiccas by an apparent acquiescence in his measures, and by collecting proofs of his innocence against the day of trial. But Antigonus had an understanding too penetrating to be imposed on. He saw that his own destruction was sealed if he remained, and that it was to be the foundation of the success of Perdiccas. The murder of Cynane, daughter of Philip by his second wife, who was cut off by the command of Perdiccas, confirmed him in these views; and accordingly, taking his son Demetrius and all his domestics in whom he could confide, he embarked in an Athenian vessel, and sailed over to Greece to take shelter under the protection of Antipater and Craterus.

At this time Antipater and Craterus were at war with the Ætolians. Upon being informed, however, of the designs of Perdiccas, they made peace with the Ætolians, and advanced towards the Hellespont, to watch the movements of their new adversary. At the same time, they engaged Ptolemy, governor of Egypt, in their interest.

Foreseeing that he should have to oppose the veteran forces of Greece conjointly with those of Ptolemy, if he did not prevent their junction, Perdiccas held a council of war, to deliberate whether they should first march into Macedonia against Craterus and Antipater, or into Egypt against Ptolemy. The majority of voices declared in favour of the last proposition, and it was accordingly determined that Perdiccas should march into Egypt, attended by the two minor kings, which he did by the way of Damascus and Palestine. At the same time, Eumenes was appointed to oppose Antipater

and Craterus, who, it was expected, would soon cross the Hellespont into Asia.

This expectation was realized; Antipater and Craterus were early in the fields of Asia. They crossed the Hellespont, and, on their landing, were joined by Neoptolemus, governor of Armenia, who had recently suffered a defeat from the power of Eumenes. Neoptolemus informed the Macedonian leaders that the army of Eumenes was weak, disorderly, and incapable of resistance. This information was incorrect, and led to the overthrow of the Macedonian forces. Misled by it, Antipater and Craterus divided their forces, the former passing through Phrygia in pursuit of Perdiccas, and the latter, accompanied by Neoptolemus, marching against Eumenes, who was then in Cappadocia.

The armies of Eumenes and Craterus met in the Trojan plain, and a severe battle was fought. In making his arrangements for the battle, Eumenes, who was brave and generous, and who desired the reconciliation of Craterus with Perdiccas, was careful not to oppose any Macedonian against him, lest he should be slain. But his generous care was vain. In the first onset, Neoptolemus was slain by the hand of Eumenes; and Craterus, at the close of the battle, when victory declared for his opponent, lay undistinguished among the heaps of dead. Eumenes having learned the state of Craterus, hastened to the spot where he lay, and found him expiring. Bitterly bewailing the misfortune that had changed old friends into foes, he wept over him, and caused the last honours to be paid him with magnificence. He also ordered his bones to be conveyed to Macedonia, in order to be given to his wife and children.

While these events occurred in Cappadocia, Perdiccas passed into Egypt. On his march thither, the army which he commanded had become turbulent, and the breach was widened soon after his arrival by the emissaries of Ptolemy, who secretly encouraged their mutinous dispositions. Many of his officers deserted him, and the feelings of the soldiers generally were in favour of Ptolemy; and at length Python, who had been formerly employed in the ruthless massacre of some Greek mercenaries, for disobedience of orders, organized a conspiracy, and Perdiccas, who in imagination had already his foot upon the throne of Macedonia, was murdered in his tent. As he had cut off others, so he was cut off himself treacherously, and in a moment sent to his account.

Two days after this event, news arrived in the camp of the

victory gained by Eumenes. Had it reached the camp earlier, the regent's life might have been saved, but now the news served only to aggravate the malice of the insurgent satraps and soldiers. Enraged thereby, they put all the friends of Perdiccas on whom they could lay hands, to death.

Three of the principal personages, Perdiccas, Craterus, and Leonnatus, were already removed from the theatre of action, and Eumenes, now master of Asia Minor, had to maintain, unaided, the struggle against the confederates in every quarter.

As soon as Ptolemy heard of the death of Perdiccas, he brought the royal army a large supply of wine and provisions. This act, combined with his courteous manners, won upon the turbulent soldiers, and they unanimously offered him the regency. He saw that this was a dangerous position to be placed in, and therefore he declined the honour. On his refusal, the weak Aridæus, who is not before mentioned, and the traitor Python were appointed to the regency. It was about this time that the news arrived of the recent victory of Eumenes. This intelligence filled the breasts of the soldiers with indignation. Craterus, who had been a warrior from his youth, was a favourite with his companion in arms, while Eumenes was despised by them on account of his former peaceful occupation, that of secretary to Alexander. Ptolemy conceived it would be his interest to heighten this feeling of revenge, and he induced them to pass a decree whereby Eumenes and his adherents were proclaimed enemies, and war was denounced against them, and all who afforded them support or protection.

Having thus doomed Eumenes, the army commenced their march towards Cœlo Syria, to put their decrees into effect. Their designs, however, were delayed by a new revolution. Eurydice, wife of the weak Philip Arrhidæus, and niece of the celebrated Philip, a woman of great ambition and considerable talent for intrigue, supported by the army, wrested the regency from Aridæus and Python. Thus matters stood when they arrived at Triparadisus, in Syria, where they were joined by Antipater. Ever seeking his own interest, Antipater reproached the Macedonians for submitting to the government of a woman, and being supported by Antigonus and Seleucus, obtained for himself the office of regent. Eurydice ably supported herself against his designs, for which reason,

fearing her abilities, Antipater sent her with her husband prisoner to Pella.

As soon as the strife attendant upon this change was allayed, Antipater proceeded to make a new division of the provinces. Egypt, Lybia, and the adjacent country, were confirmed to Ptolemy; Syria was also confirmed to Laomedon; Philoxenus had Cilicia; Mesopotamia and Arbelitis were given to Amphimachus; Seleucus received Babylon; Antigonus was placed over Susiana, because he was the first who opposed Perdiccas; Peucestas held Persia; Tlepolemus had Carmania; Python was intrusted with Media as far as the Caspian Straits; Stasander, with Bactria and Sogdia; Sybirtius, with Arachosia; Oxyartes, the father of Roxana, with Paropamisus; Python, with the country between Paropamisus and India; Porus and Taxiles, with the country they already possessed as received at the hands of Alexander; Cappadocia was assigned to Nicanor; Phrygia Major, Lycaonia, Pamphylia, and Lycia, to Antigonus; Caria, to Cassander; Lydia, to Clitus; and Phrygia the Less, to Aridæus. Cassander was appointed general of the horse; and the command of the household troops was given to Antigonus, with orders to prosecute the war against Eumenes, whose territories he was to possess, and who was, by this division of the empire, outlawed.

The crafty and ambitious Antigonus soon commenced operations against Eumenes. He was joined by Cassander, son of Antipater, with 1000 horse. Cassander was a selfish and cunning statesman, and he soon penetrated the secret plans of Antigonus. He warned the regent of these designs in vain, and a quarrel took place between the colleagues, upon which Cassander returned to Europe, where he soon commenced a career as bold and cruel as that of Antigonus in Asia.

In the mean time, Eumenes had prudently prepared for the coming storm. He was joined by Alcetas, the brother of Perdiccas, and by Attalus with the fleet. But treachery was in his camp. One of his principal officers, named Perdiccas, prevailed on a body of 3500 troops to desert with him, which led to a battle between his divided forces, thereby weakening his power. Nor was this all. Having met the forces of Antigonus at Orcynium, in Cappadocia, during his engagement with them, Apollonius, one of the principal officers of his cavalry, corrupted by Antigonus, deserted him with 8000 men, which defection caused his overthrow. B. C. 320.

After his defeat, Eumenes took shelter in Nora, a Cappadocian city, a place of considerable strength, where he vigorously sustained a siege of twelve months, rejecting the many tempting offers by which Antigonus endeavoured to win him to the support of his designs. At the end of that time, B. C. 319, Antigonus, perceiving that the siege would retard his designs, ordered Nora to be surrounded by a strong wall, and leaving a force sufficient to guard it, marched into Pisidia against Alcetas and Attalus, who were raising a body of troops for the rescue of Eumenes. The celerity with which Antigonus marched into Pisidia was such, that he surprised these generals, and being unprepared, they were routed in a battle. Attalus was taken prisoner; but Alcetas fled with 6000 men to Termessus, where, to escape the swords of murderers, (by whom he was already surrounded, and who were commissioned by the magistrates of Nora, through the influence of Antigonus, who pursued him thither,) he put an end to his own life.

During these transactions in Asia, Ptolemy was pursuing his conquests in Syria, Phenicia, and Palestine, as related in the History of the Egyptians.

Much dissatisfaction prevailed in Athens concerning the garrison which Antipater had left in that city. Phocion had been often requested to go to the court of that prince, to solicit him to recall those troops. This general, foreseeing the uselessness of this step, refused, and the orator Demades at length took upon himself that commission. The arrival of Demades in Macedonia happened at a fatal juncture for himself. Antipater had been seized with a severe illness, and his son Cassander, who was master of all affairs, had lately intercepted a letter which Demades had written to Antigonus in Asia, pressing him to come and make himself master of Greece and Macedonia, and representing that it was only held together by "an old and rotten thread;" thereby ridiculing Antipater. As soon as Cassander saw Demades, who was accompanied by his son, he caused him to be arrested; after which, having bitterly reproached the orator for his perfidy and ingratitude, and slew them both with his own hands. Such was the end of Demades, who had dictated the decree by which Demosthenes and Hyperides were condemned to die; a fearful retribution for the cruelty he had shown to others.

The indisposition of Antipater proved fatal. Before he died, he bequeathed the regency to his friend, the aged Polysperchon, to the exclusion of his own son Cassander, be-

cause of his criminal intrigues with the wicked and ambitious Eurydice.

Cassander could ill brook this singular love of the public welfare displayed by his dying father. He deemed it an insult, and sought to form a party against the new regent. He applied to Ptolemy and Antigonus, and they readily espoused his cause from the same motives of ambition as himself. Thus aided, Cassander strengthened himself in Southern Greece, where he seized the strong fortress of Munychia. He was, however, for the moment overreached by Polysperchon as regards Athens. Foreseeing that Cassander would attempt to make himself absolute master of that city, he issued an edict declaring his intention of restoring democracy in the Grecian states. The Athenians heard this with delight. They sent an urgent embassy to the regent, requesting him to send an army to protect their city from Cassander and his partizans. Polysperchon sent his son Alexander with considerable forces into Attica, and encouraged by their presence, the restoration of democracy was voted by a tumultuous assembly, and a decree passed for proceeding against all aristocrats as capital enemies of the state. It is probable that Polysperchon foresaw this, and it is evident that he sought the overthrow of Phocion, who had favoured and introduced oligarchy under Antipater. He had his desire. Several illustrious individuals, among whom was the virtuous Phocion, fell victims to this burst of popular violence, and the arm of the regent was not interposed to save them.

Although the Athenians generally were thus led astray by this burst of democratical fury, there were those in Athens who lamented the death of Phocion. On the day he was doomed to drink the fatal hemlock, there was a public procession, and as it passed before his prison doors, some of those who followed in the train took off their crowns from their heads, and others burst into tears. All who were not blinded by rage or envy deemed it an instance of unnatural barbarity and impiety, that one whose virtues had procured for him the appellation of "the good," should die on a day of solemnity.

The revenge of the foes of Phocion senselessly pursued him after death. An edict was obtained from the people that his body should be carried out of the territory of Attica, and that none of the Athenians should furnish fire to honour his funeral pile. Accordingly, the remains of Phocion were carried into the territories of Megara, where the last sad rites were paid by a few weeping friends.

Phocion was one of the greatest men that Greece ever produced. Brought up in the school of Plato and Xenocrates, he had formed his manners upon the most perfect plan of pagan virtue. This, compared with the line of conduct marked out for man by the great Founder of Christianity, was lamentably deficient; but he deserved a nobler end. The Athenians themselves saw this in after ages, when no longer blinded by popular fury. Then they erected a statue of brass to his memory, and interred his bones at the public expense. His accusers, also, were brought to condign punishment. These were, indeed, vain retributions, tending to the dishonour of the Athenian character, for they punished their own crime in others; but at the same time they exhibit the moral worth of Phocion. He acted uprightly according to the light afforded him, and Christians would do well to take many a lesson from him. Their superior advantages are attended with proportionate responsibility.

While the disorders incident to this democratic fury prevailed at Athens, Cassander entered the Piræus with a fleet of thirty-five vessels, which he had received from Antigonus. When the Athenians beheld themselves destitute of necessary succours to repel these forces, they resolved to send deputies to Cassander, in order to learn the conditions of peace. It was agreed that the Athenians should continue masters of the city, with the territories, and of the revenues and ships; but it was stipulated that the citadel should remain in the hands of Cassander, till he had ended the war with the kings. At the same time the Athenians permitted Cassander to choose what citizen he pleased to govern the republic, and Demetrius Phalereus was elected to that dignity, which he filled for ten years under Cassander with great applause, ruling with mildness and equity.

In the mean time, Polysperchon had neglected nothing that he deemed necessary to strengthen his interest. He recalled Olympias, who had retired into Epirus under the regency of Antipater, with the offer of sharing his authority with her. This was an unwise measure; for Olympias, upon her arrival, consulted nothing but her passions, and her insatiable desire of dominion and revenge. A more judicious step was taken by Polysperchon when he entered into a close alliance with Eumenes, although it brought upon him the powerful resentment of Antigonus.

Having heard that Cassander had made himself master of Athens, Polysperchon hastened to besiege him in that city.

He was, however, unable to drive Cassander from Attica, and he entered the Peloponnesus to punish the Arcadians, and engaged in a fruitless siege of Megalopolis.

While these proceedings were going forward, the crafty and ambitious Antigonus appeared in the field, resolved to make himself lord of Asia. Backed by an army of 80,000 men and vast treasures, he commenced his career by endeavouring to remove those governors of provinces who were not in his interests. In this, however, he was not very successful. Aridæus, governor of Phrygia, immediately began to arm, and set his power at defiance, openly denouncing him as a traitor. He next sought to gain Eumenes over to his interests, with the promise of being the second person in his court. Eumenes outwitted Antigonus. He listened to his overtures, upon which Antigonus framed an oath, which he sent to the commanders of the troops forming the blockade of the castle of Nora, where Eumenes still was, with instructions that on Eumenes subscribing thereto, the siege should be raised. The purport of this oath was, that he should be faithful to Antigonus, and should be a friend to his friends, and a foe to his foes. When this oath was tendered to Eumenes, he observed that there was a slight mistake in the paper, and exchanged the name of Antigonus for that of Olympias, the kings, and the royal family. The Macedonians approved of this alteration, and raised the siege, and Eumenes had no sooner gained his freedom, then he began to collect forces to oppose the ambitious Antigonus, much to his chagrin.

The revolt of Antigonus occasioned great alarm, while the deliverance of Eumenes was hailed with joy. Polysperchon despatched to him, in the name of the kings, a commission, by which he was constituted captain general of the forces of Asia Minor. Orders were also sent to Teutames and Antigenes, colonels of the *Argyraspidæ*, or silver shields, to join and serve under him against Antigonus. Orderswe re likewise transmitted to those who had the care of the king's treasures, to pay him 500 talents, about 200,000 pounds sterling, for the re-establishment of his own affairs, and all necessary sums to defray the expenses of the war. All these were accompanied with letters from Olympias to the same effect. B. C. 318.

Eumenes, sensible that the accumulation of these honours on the head of a foreigner would excite the envy of the Macedonians, and render him odious to them, refused the sums granted for his own use, and endeavoured, by an engaging

conduct, to gain their affections. But envy is not easily uprooted from the heart of man. Antigenes and Teutames deemed it dishonourable to submit to a foreigner, and refused to attend him in council. Eumenes, careful as he was of the public good, and disinterested withal to a noble degree, could not consent to his own degradation lightly, fearing that his cause would be injured thereby. In this dilemma, he had recourse to the aid of superstition, which at all times has a powerful effect on the rude mass of mankind. He told them that Alexander had appeared to him in a dream, and shown him a magnificent tent, in which a throne was erected, and that the monarch declared to him, that while they held their councils in that tent, he himself would be always present, seated on the throne, to direct them in their designs and enterprises, if they would always address themselves to him. This was sufficient. The profound respect which the Macedonians maintained for the memory of that prince, overcame all considerations, and a splendid tent was ordered to be erected, and a throne placed in it, which was to be called "The throne of Alexander." On this throne were to be laid the insignia of royalty, and before it an altar was to be erected, on which it was proposed that all the chiefs should offer incense every morning, after which they should take their seats indiscriminately and consult for the public safety. By this means Eumenes calmed the envy of the Macedonians, which otherwise would have ended in anarchy: thus credulous did the pagan religion render its votaries. The more extravagant the theories were which policy propounded to their understandings, the more ready they appeared to adopt them as emanating from their gods.

> Hear the just law—the judgment of the skies,
> He that hates truth shall be the dupe of lies;
> And he that will be cheated, to the last
> Delusions strong as hell shall bind him fast.—COWPER.

As Eumenes was sufficiently supplied with money, he raised an army of 20,000 men in a brief period. These forces spread terror among his enemies, and they sought to counteract their operations. Ptolemy sailed to the coasts of Cilicia, and sought to corrupt the *Argyraspidæ* by the persuasive power of gold. Antigonus made the same attempt by emissaries in the camp. But so powerfully had the stratagem of Eumenes wrought upon the minds of these veteran fol-

lowers of Alexander, that all their attempts proved at this time abortive.

Eumenes advanced with his troops, thus favourably disposed, into Syria and Phenicia, to recover those provinces which Ptolemy had unjustly seized. This movement proved unsuccessful. While the events just narrated were going forward, Antigonus had defeated Clitus, who commanded the fleet of Polysperchon, which rendered the expedition ineffectual. Antigonus, indeed, marched against Eumenes with a more numerous force than his own, upon which he retreated through Cœlo-Syria, and passing the Euphrates, took up his winter quarters at Carrhæ, in Mesopotamia.

During his continuance at Carrhæ, Eumenes sought the assistance of Python, governor of Media, and Seleucus, governor of Babylon, which they refused, ostensibly on the grounds of his being outlawed, but in reality to further their own interests. Most of the officers of Alexander, who had shared the governments of the empire among themselves after his death, smitten with the same mania of ambition which actuated his conduct, were solicitous to secure to themselves the supreme power in their several provinces. It was with this view they had chosen a person of weak intellect and an infant as their rulers, and their designs would have been disconcerted had they allowed Eumenes an ascendancy over them, or obeyed his orders. These orders were issued, indeed, in the name of the kings; but this was a circumstance they were anxious to evade, they wishing to be kings themselves. They were, moreover, apprehensive of the merit and superior genius of Eumenes, who, although he had not been trained up to the art of war, was unquestionably one of the greatest captains of his age. He was wise, brave, steady in resolution, and of unshaken fidelity to the royal cause; whence the power of his arm was dreaded by those who had nothing to show against these virtues, but their own insatiable ambition. The presence of an upright man has ever been, and will ever be a sore burden to those who act unjustly towards their fellow men.

In the following spring, B. C. 317, Eumenes marched in the direction of Babylonia, where he was in great danger from a stratagem of Seleucus. His troops were encamped in a plain near the Euphrates, and Seleucus by cutting the banks of that river, laid the neighbouring country under water. Eumenes, however, succeeded in gaining an eminence with his troops, and found means to drain off the inundation without sustaining any great loss. Seleucus was then reduced to

the necessity of making a truce with Eumenes, and of permitting him to pass peaceably through his province towards Susa.

While at Susa, Eumenes sent to the governors of the provinces in Upper Asia, requesting succours. He had before transmited to them the order of the kings; and those whom he had charged with that commission found them all assembled at the close of a war undertaken in concert against Python, governor of Media, who had pursued the same measures in Upper Asia, which Antigonus had formed in the Lower; whence the governors confederated together against him, and drove him out of Media, obliging him to resort to Seleucus for protection. The confederates were still in the camp after this victory, when the deputies arrived from Eumenes requesting their aid; and fearing the subjection of Antigonus, who was then at the head of a powerful army, their policy, rather than inclination, taught them to join his forces. With this reinforcement Eumenes saw himself not only in a condition to oppose Antigonus, who was then advancing towards him, but also superior in the number of his troops. The season was too far advanced when Antigonus arrived on the banks of the Tigris, whence he was obliged to take up his quarters in Mesopotamia. He was joined here by Seleucus of Babylon, and Python of Media, with whom he concerted measures for the operations of the next campaign.

Juvenal has well said:

> Where wild ambition in the heart we find,
> Content and quiet reign not in the mind.

During these transactions in Asia, ambition was performing its deadly work in Macedonia. Olympias had made herself paramount mistress, and had put to death the weak Arrhidæus and his consort Eurydice, with Nicanor, brother of Cassander, and a hundred of his principal friends. These barbarities, however, did not long remain unpunished. Olympias had retired to Pydna with the young king Alexander, and his mother Roxana, with Thessalonica, sister of Alexander the Great, and Deidamia, daughter of Æacides, king of Epirus, and sister of Pyrrhus. Cassander hastened to besiege them by sea and land. Æacides prepared to assist Olympias, and was already upon his march, when his troops revolted, and condemning him to banishment, returned to Epirus. On their return to Epirus, these troops massacred all the friends of Æacides, and then declared for Cassander, who sent Lyciscus thither to take upon him the government in his name. Olym-

pias had then no resource left but Polysperchon, who was in Pherrhœbia, a small province on the confines of Ætolia. Polysperchon was preparing to succour the guilty princess; but Cassander sent Callas, one of his generals, against him, who corrupted the greatest part of his troops, and obliged him to retire into Naxia, where he besieged him. Thus left to herself, and having no hopes of relief, Olympias was compelled to surrender at discretion.

The doom of Olympias was sealed. Cassander prompted the relations of the principal officers, whom Olympias had caused to be slain, to accuse her in the assembly of the Macedonians, and to sue for vengeance. The request of these persons was granted, and when they had all made their complaints, Olympias was unanimously condemned to die. After sentence of death had thus passed, Cassander proposed to her, by some friends, to retire to Athens, promising to accommodate her with a galley for the voyage. His intention was to destroy her by sea, and to publish through all Macedonia that the gods had avenged her crimes; but Olympias penetrated into his designs, and insisted on pleading her own cause in the public assembly; adding that this was the least favour that could be granted a queen. Cassander was apprehensive that her presence would counteract his designs—that the remembrance of Philip and Alexander, for whom the Macedonians retained the utmost veneration, would incline them to spare Olympias; and therefore, he sent two hundred soldiers, with orders to put her to death. These soldiers, awed by her presence, retired without executing their commission. But Cassander was not to be foiled in his resolution to destroy Olympias. He knew that the deadly feeling of revenge lurked in the bosoms of the relatives of those she had caused to perish, and they readily entered into his views: Olympias fell beneath their united arms, and thus the ambition of Cassander was made the instrument of punishing her for her cruelty and ambition.

Cassander now saw his way clear to the throne of Macedonia, and he hastened to secure it by measures suggested by the deepest policy ambition could suggest. Among the captives taken at Pydna, were Roxana the widow, Alexander Ægus the posthumous son, and Thessalonica the youngest sister of Alexander the Great. Cassander sought and obtained the hand of the latter princess, and thereby consoled himself for the loss of Eurydice, his partner in guilt, and conciliated the friendship of the nobles of Macedonia. At

the same time Cassander, emboldened by the success of his former crimes, resolved to pursue his ambitious course. He caused Roxana and Alexander Ægus to be conducted to the castle of Amphipolis, where they were divested of all regal honours, and where he intended on a future day to put them to death, with Hercules, son of Alexander by Barsine, widow of Memnon; that no rival might remain to contest the crown of Macedonia with him by a regal claim.

In consequence of the influence which Cassander had acquired by his marriage, and the steps he had adopted to exalt himself to the throne of Macedonia, Polysperchon did not venture to return home, but continued in the Peloponnesus, where he retained for some time a shadow of authority over the few Macedonians who still adhered to the cause of the family of Alexander. Cassander at first marched into the Peloponnesus in order to give him battle; but after taking the city of Argos, and all the cities of the Messenians except Ithome, he deemed it prudent to retire into Macedonia, lest he should prove unfortunate. Soon after his return, he found means to corrupt Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, by offering him the government of all Peloponnesus, and the command of the troops stationed in the cities he had captured. Alexander greedily devoured the bait, and deserted the cause of his parent; but he was slain soon after by some citizens of Sicyon, where he then resided, who combined to destroy him, in order to effect their own deliverance. This conspiracy, however, did not produce the desired effect. Cratesipolis, wife of Alexander, unappalled by the death of her husband, and the rage of mutiny, took upon herself the command of the troops, and subdued the Sicyonians in a battle, after which she entered upon the administration of the government, which she conducted with much prudence.

At length winter passed away, and Antigonus appeared again in the field to contest the crown of Asia. He first advanced to Babylon, where the troops raised by Python and Seleucus augmented his army. Thus strengthened, he passed the Tigris to attack Eumenes, who was prepared to receive his onset. During the course of this campaign, the war was maintained with obstinacy on both sides, and Persia and Media were the theatre of its operations. The armies, which were nearly equal, traversed those two great provinces, by marches and countermarches, and each party resorted to every art and stratagem that the greatest capacity combined with experience could supply. Eumenes, though he had a

mutinous army to govern, an army which, though they felt his superiority as a commander, were yet determined to oppose, and finally to destroy him, obtained several advantages over his enemy; and when his troops grew impatient for winter quarters, he had the dexterity to secure the best in the province of Gabene, and obliged Antigonus to seek his in the north of Media, twenty-five days' march distant. This campaign occupied the year B. C. 316.

The troops of Eumenes were so ungovernable that they insisted on taking up their quarters in different parts of the province, under pretence of being more commodiously stationed, and of having their wants better supplied. Antigonus, who was informed of this circumstance, marched in the depth of winter, in hopes of falling upon them unawares. Eumenes had foreseen this event, and had sent spies mounted on dromedaries to gain timely intelligence of the enemy's motions. He had posted these so judiciously that he received intelligence of the coming of Antigonus before he could arrive at either of his quarters, by which means he collected all his forces before the enemy could advance upon him. Antigonus finding his schemes defeated, and mortified at being thus out-generalled, determined to come to an engagement.

The skill which Eumenes had displayed on this occasion had so charmed his troops in general that they resolved he should exercise the sole command. But it was not so with Antigenes and Teutames, captains of the *Argyraspidæ*. Mortified at this distinction being given to a Thracian, they formed a resolution to destroy him, and drew most of the satraps and principal officers into their conspiracy. It was agreed, however, that his fall should be protracted till after the decision of the impending battle, thereby acknowledging his superior merit as a general. Eumenes was informed of their design, but he would not forego his duty by endeavouring to escape his doom. On the contrary, in the spirit of true magnanimity, he made his will, and determined to discharge his duty to his prince to the latest breath. He resigned his destiny, says Plutarch, to the will of the gods, and thought only of preparing for the battle. Truly this was devotion worthy of a better reward than it obtained.

The army of Eumenes consisted of 36,000 foot and above 6000 horse, with 114 elephants; that of Antigonus was composed of 22,000 foot, 9000 horse, and a body of Median cavalry, and sixty-five elephants. These armies met, and the *Argyraspidæ* quickly broke the hostile infantry, dealing out

destruction with unerring certainty. On the other hand, the cavalry of Antigonus defeated that of Eumenes, and captured the baggage. This was fatal to Eumenes. The *Argyraspidæ* hearing of this disaster, mutinied in the very moment of their victory, and delivered him bound with his own sash into the hands of Antigonus, on condition that their baggage should be restored.

Antigonus deliberated for some time how he should treat his prisoner. They had been bosom friends, and had served under Alexander together, which considerations rekindled some tender sentiments in his favour. His son Demetrius, also, earnestly solicited that the life of so brave a man might be spared. But the selfish interests of Antigonus prevailed. He feared if he should set Eumenes free he would take up arms again for the house of Alexander, and therefore ordered him to be put to death.

Such was the end of the brave, generous, and faithful Eumenes. As a general, and as a man of probity, his name ranks high in that age of ambition. As a proof of his greatness of mind, it may be mentioned, that he rose to the eminence he attained from a low rank in life. His talent commanded for him the high station he held, and the ambitious characters who surrounded him on every hand quailed before that talent. His very ashes commanded their respect. Antigonus and his whole army, being now dead to envy and fear as regarded Eumenes, celebrated his funeral obsequies with great magnificence, and gathering up his ashes, deposited them in a silver urn, and sent them to his wife and children in Cappadocia; a sad relic for a disconsolate widow and helpless orphans.

> "From the first beam that waked the golden day
> To lingering twilight's melancholy ray,
> No respite came their drooping hearts to cheer,
> Or from the fount of misery stole a tear."

The *Argyraspidæ* met with the due reward of their treachery. Justly dreading their turbulence, Antigonus sent them in small detachments against the barbarians, and thus sacrificed in detail the veterans that had overthrown the Persian empire, and freed himself from a power able to thwart his ambitious designs.

Antigonus, immediately after his victory, B. C. 315, looking upon himself as master of the empire of Asia, began to aim at the sovereignty of the entire Macedonian empire. His first

measure was directed against the satraps whose rebellious conduct had enabled him to triumph over Eumenes. He banished Peucestas of Persia, put Python of Media, and Antigenes, general of the *Argyraspidæ*, to death, and sought to involve Seleucus of Babylon in the same destruction. Seleucus fled to Ptolemy, to whom he represented the formidable power of Antigonus so effectually, that he engaged him in a league with Lysimachus and Cassander against the usurper. The two latter sent an embassy to Antigonus, who answered their proposals with menaces and insult. At the same time, he prepared to wage war. While his armies overran Syria and Asia Minor, he roused the Southern Greeks, Ætolians, and Epirotes, to attack Cassander in Macedonia, and bribed the mountaineers and northern barbarians to attack Lysimachus in Thrace, while his son Demetrius, afterwards named Poliorcetes, or, The conqueror of cities, marched against Ptolemy of Egypt.

The details of the war between Demetrius and Ptolemy are related in the History of the Egyptians: its results will be seen in the succeeding paragraphs.

While this war was proceeding, B. C. 313, seeing the armies of Antigonus engaged in Phenicia, Cassander invaded Asia Minor. On hearing of this, Antigonus marched with a portion of his forces to arrest his progress. Success attended his arms; he pressed Cassander so vigorously that he obliged him to come to an accommodation on humiliating terms. But treaties were not deemed of any import by the successors of Alexander, and this was hardly concluded before Cassander broke it by demanding succours of Ptolemy and Seleucus, for the renewal of the war, which was obstinately contested till the belligerents were parted by succeeding events.

At this period, the excavated city of Petra was the great depot of the caravan trade between the southern countries of Asia and northern Africa. One of the generals of Antigonus, named Athenæus, was sent to seize its stores. Athenæus surprised the inhabitants by a rapid march and sudden attack, and enriched himself with the plunder. The Nabathæan Arabs, however, enraged by their loss, hastily collected their forces, and urging forward their dromedaries through the desert, overtook Athenæus near Gaza, where they not only recovered the spoil, but destroyed his army almost to a man. Demetrius hastened to avenge this loss, but he was baffled by the strength of the fastnesses of Arabia Petræa, and was compelled to retire into Syria.

On his return, Demetrius received intelligence that directed all his attention to the state of Upper Asia. Previous to his entering upon this war with the Arabs, Ptolemy had gained a victory over him at Gaza, upon which Seleucus, with a small but gallant band of attendants supplied by the Egyptian monarch, threw himself into his ancient satrapy of Babylon, and he was received with so much enthusiasm, that he obtained possession of his former power without striking a blow. The Persian and Median satraps, who had been appointed by Antigonus, sought, conjointly with Demetrius, to crush his power; but they were totally routed by him, after a brief but ineffectual struggle.

[According to oriental historians, it was at this date, B. C. 312, that the era of the Seleucidæ commenced, which forms an important epoch in Grecian history. Although, however, Seleucus now established his interest in Babylon upon such a solid foundation that it could no more be shaken, it was not till the battle of Ipsus, B. C. 301, that his title was acknowledged. In the second partition treaty, he was excluded, as will be seen in the next paragraph, from the government of Babylonia, allotted to him by the first, B. C. 323, as recorded at the commencement of this chapter.]

Alarmed at these occurrences, Antigonus hastened to conclude a peace with his various opponents, Seleucus only excepted. The treaty which was entered into by these sons of ambition contained in itself the seeds of a new war, ready to burst forth at any favourable opportunity, especially its second article. It was as follows: 1. That each should retain what he had; which demonstrates that the treaty was dictated solely by Antigonus: 2. That the Greek cities should be free: 3. That young Alexander should be raised to the throne upon attaining his majority. B. C. 310.

The last stipulation was vain. Cassander had long meditated the death of the young prince, and to make sure of the crown of Macedonia for himself, he privately murdered him in his confinement in the castle of Amphipolis, with his mother Roxana. The latter had put to death Statira, the daughter of Darius and wife of Alexander, shortly after his decease, and also her sister Drypetis, the widow of Hephæstion, and now she herself and her young son fall by the hands of violence.

Polysperchon, who was still in the Peloponnesus, exclaimed loudly against the treason of Cassander, and sending for Hercules, the only remaining son of Alexander, from Pergamus,

with his mother, he proposed him as king to the Macedonians. Cassander was so alarmed at this proceeding, that he came to a compromise with Polysperchon to share the government between them, and he was seduced by this tempting offer to destroy both Hercules and his mother the ensuing year, B. C. 309.

Thus, says Dr. Hales, was "the posterity of Alexander all extirpated in the course of fourteen years from his death, and his kingdom plucked up, and given to others;" by a righteous retaliation, that he whose sword had made many parents childless, should leave his children and all his family to perish by the sword.

Antigonus early discovered that he had been deceived in the recent treaty by Cassander and Ptolemy. Under pretence that he had put garrisons in some of the Greek cities, Ptolemy invaded Cilicia, and the rest of the confederates attacked him in other quarters. Accordingly, Antigonus sent Demetrius into Cilicia to recover the cities there lost, which he accomplished: the other generals of Antigonus also met with the same success wherever they were despatched. B. C. 308.

During this year, Antigonus was concerned in a fearful tragedy. Cleopatra, sister of Alexander the Great, and widow of Alexander, king of Epirus, had for several years resided at Sardis, in Lydia, which was in the hands of Antigonus. Ambition had led Cassander, Antigonus, and Lysimachus, each to seek her hand in marriage, but in vain. Ptolemy now pursued the same course from the same motives, and he was listened to with favour. Already had Cleopatra set out for the camp of Ptolemy, when the governor of Sardis arrested her, and shortly after, by the command of Antigonus, caused her to be secretly destroyed. And yet to wipe off the stain of the crime from the page of his history, Antigonus ordered the heads of the women who had been instrumental in the murder to be struck off, and buried Cleopatra with great solemnity!

Behold, reader, how closely vengeance pursued the race of Alexander! See what calamities attended all those who were related to that famous conqueror, whose favour but a few years before was ardently courted by the world! A fatal curse rested upon his whole family, and avenged upon it all the acts of violence which had been committed by that prince. His very courtiers, officers, and domestics, were used in the ministration of this vengeance. And why? Because the judgments of the Almighty should be rendered visible to all

mankind. Antigonus, however, though he was one of the ministers of God in his just decrees, was not the less criminal on that account. He was equally guilty in the sight of God, and in his turn he received the due reward of his deeds, as recorded in a future page. Punishment is irreversibly annexed to guilt; it may be delayed, but it cannot, in the ordinary course of events, be avoided. As surely as the sinner lives, so surely will his sin find him out, unless he seeks a refuge in the merits of a crucified Redeemer. From Him alone can any sinner hope for deliverance.

Antigonus had long formed a design to restore liberty to Greece, which was held in subjection by Cassander, Lysimachus, and Polysperchon. In the year B. C. 306, he commenced operations to carry this design into effect. To engage the Grecians in his interest, he promised to establish the democracy, their popular form of government. Antigonus foresaw that this bait would be greedily seized by the Athenians, and so it came to pass. No sooner had Demetrius made a proclamation before their walls to this effect, than they cast down their bucklers at their feet, and with loud demonstrations of joy, welcomed him as their preserver and benefactor. They carried their gratitude even to impiety and irreligion. They first conferred the title of king on Antigonus and Demetrius, and then honoured them with the appellation of tutelary deities, and instead of the magistracy of the Archon, which gave the year its denomination, they elected annually a priest of these tutelar deities, in whose name all the public acts and decrees were passed. Nor was this all. They ordered their portraits to be painted with those of the other gods, on the veil which was carried in procession at their solemn festivals in honour of Minerva, called Panthenæa; they consecrated the spot of ground on which Demetrius descended from his chariot, and erected an altar upon it, which they called "the altar of Demetrius, descending from his chariot;" they added to the ten ancient tribes two more, which they styled the tribes of Demetrius and Antigonus; and they changed the names of two months in their favour, and published an order, that those who should be sent to Antigonus or Demetrius, by any decree of the people, instead of being distinguished by the common title of ambassadors, should be called Theori, which was an appellation reserved for those who were chosen to go and offer sacrifices to the gods at Delphi, or Olympia, in the name of the cities. The climax of these extravagances was brought about by Democlides,

who proposed, "that in order to the more effectual consecration of the bucklers that were to be dedicated in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, proper persons should be despatched to Demetrius, the tutelar deity; and that after they had offered sacrifices to him, they should inquire of him, in what manner they ought to conduct themselves so as to celebrate, with the greatest promptitude and the utmost devotion and magnificence, the dedication of those offerings, and that the people should comply with all the directions of the oracle on that occasion." These propositions, as wicked as they were absurd, were passed into a decree, by the ever superstitious and idolatrous Athenians.

The ingratitude of the Athenians towards Demetrius Phalereus, who had governed them with much uprightness for ten years, was as criminal and extravagant as the immoderate acknowledgement they showed to Antigonus and Demetrius. They accused him of having acted contrary to their laws in many instances during his administration; they threw down the numerous statues they had raised to his honour, condemned him to suffer death for his contumacy, he having fled rather than be a party of the new government, and finally, persecuted his friends, among whom was the celebrated poet Menander.

Demetrius Phalereus, after sojourning some time at Thebes, and in the court of Cassander, retired into Egypt, to Ptolemy Soter, who was an illustrious patron of men of letters. While in Egypt, he composed several treatises on government, and the duties of civil life; an employment, says Plutarch, which sustained his mind, and cherished in it those sentiments of humanity with which it was so richly endowed. Demetrius Phalereus was one of the wisest and best governors of this stormy period.

Although the Athenians had exalted the character of Demetrius to the rank of a demigod, his conduct at Athens proved him to be of the sinful race of man. His behaviour in that city was infamous to the last degree. In the midst of his excess, however, he was directed by his father to wage a second war with Ptolemy of Egypt, the particulars of which are related in that history.

It was during this war, on hearing of the capture of Cyprus by Demetrius, that "the old man" Antigonus first assumed the crown. He decked his own brows with the regal circlet, and sent another to his son, with a letter of congratulation on his victory. Their example was followed by

the other generals. Ptolemy of Egypt, Seleucus of Babylon, Lysimachus of Thrace, and Cassander of Macedonia, all "put on crowns." The assumption of the royal title, however, by those generals, was but a mere form now that the royal family was extirpated.

Before Demetrius undertook the expedition against Cyprus, he invited the Rhodians to an alliance against Ptolemy; but the Rhodians resolved to preserve a strict neutrality. Accordingly, having failed in his project of subduing Egypt, he was resolved to make this wealthy republic the victim of his fury.

The Rhodians, who foresaw the impending storm, had sent to all the princes their allies, and to Ptolemy in particular, to implore their assistance, and caused it to be represented to the latter that it was their attachment to his interests which drew down upon them the danger to which they were exposed.

The preparations on each side were very great. Demetrius had 200 ships of war, and 170 transports, which carried about 40,000 men, exclusive of the cavalry and the succours he received from pirates, who joined him in hopes of plunder. He had likewise 1000 vessels laden with provisions, and all other necessary accommodations for an army. He had with him, moreover, a vast number of machines of war, for the construction of which his name is celebrated in history.

The Rhodians, on their part, prepared for a vigorous defence. Many commanders of note in alliance with them threw themselves into the city, being desirous to try their skill in military affairs against one of the greatest captains, and who was considered most experienced in the conduct of sieges. The besieged commenced by dismissing all useless persons; and then taking an account of those capable of bearing arms, they found that the citizens numbered 6000 and the foreigners 1000. Liberty was promised to all the slaves who should distinguish themselves by their bravery, and the public engaged to pay their ransom. A proclamation was also made, that whoever died in the defence of the country should be buried at the public expense; that his parents and children should be supported out of the treasury; that fortunes should be given to his daughters; and that his sons, when they had arrived at manhood, should be crowned and presented with a suit of armour, at the great solemnity of Bacchus. This decree had the desired effect. The rich came in crowds, with money to defray the expense of the siege and the soldiers' pay; the artificers applied themselves to the forming of catapultas, balistas, and new warlike engines; while others ap-

plied themselves to the reparation of the breaches made in the walls by the enemy. In a word, all were stimulated to action, and their noble defence affords an illustrious example of the power of discipline in conjunction with well-guided patriotism.

The siege of Rhodes is one of the most memorable recorded in the pages of ancient history. All the engines of assault which the mechanical knowledge of that age could invent,—catapultas, balistas, battering-rams, and the famous engine called *helepolis*, or taker of cities, etc., were employed, both by sea and land, in order to effect the reduction of the city. But they were all of no avail. As soon as a breach was made in the wall, it was nobly defended till repaired, or another wall rose to view behind the breach. At length, indeed, a detachment of 1500 men entered the city at midnight, but they were destroyed by the valiant Rhodians, who were seconded during the siege by succours from Ptolemy and from Cassander.

This was the last noted assault made. Antigonus hearing of the brave stand the Rhodians were making against the forces of Demetrius, sent letters to him, enjoining him to conclude a peace with them, lest he should lose his whole army. At the same time, ambassadors arrived from the Ætolian republic, soliciting the contending parties to put an end to a war which threatened to involve the east in endless calamities. Ptolemy also secretly advised the Rhodians to come to terms of peace.

An accident which occurred to Demetrius about this time, according to Vegetius and Vitruvius, contributed greatly to a peace between the contending parties. Demetrius was preparing to advance his *helepolis* against the city, when a Rhodian engineer opened a mine under the walls of the city and the site it was to pass; and when it was moved towards the spot undermined, it buried itself so deep into the ground that it was rendered useless.*

Under these circumstances, a peace was concluded on the following conditions: 1. That the people of Rhodes should

* The *helepolis* was moved upon eight strong and large wheels, the felloes of which were strengthened with iron plates. To facilitate and vary its movements, castors were placed under it, whereby it was turned to what side the engineers pleased. The whole was of such an immense weight, that it is said, 3000 of the strongest men of the whole army were employed in its removal, notwithstanding the art with which it was built greatly facilitated its motion.

maintain the full enjoyment of their ancient rites, privileges, and liberties. 2. That they should confirm their alliance with Antigonus, and assist him in his wars against all states and princes, Ptolemy excepted. And, 3. That for the effectual performance of these articles, they should deliver 100 hostages, to be chosen by Demetrius. When these hostages were given, the siege was raised.

At the departure of Demetrius from Rhodes, he presented them with all the machines he had employed in the siege. These were afterwards sold for 300 talents, about 150,000*l.*, which was employed, with some additional sums, in the erection of the famous Colossus, reputed one of the seven wonders of the world.

The farther the historian advances with the history of those restless spirits which succeeded Alexander the Great, the more clearly he discovers the unworthy motives by which they were actuated. They concealed their ambition at first by nominating a child and a person of weak intellect to the regal dignity; but as soon as the family of Alexander was destroyed, they threw off the mask, and showed themselves in their proper colours. Each sought to tower over the heads of the others. They were all solicitous to support themselves in their several governments; to become independent; to assume an absolute sovereignty; and to enlarge the limits of their territories at the expense of those who were weaker or less successful than themselves. For this purpose they employed the force of arms, and entered into alliances, which were no sooner made than broken, when they could derive more advantage from others, and they were renewed with the same facility from the same motives. The vast conquests of Alexander were to them as an inheritance destitute of a master, and each sought to serve himself with the largest portion.

The struggle for power and territory was not yet over. Seleucus was master of all the countries between the Euphrates and the Indus, and he was desirous of acquiring those that lay beyond the latter river. Accordingly, he improved the opportunity which now offered (when he was in alliance with Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus, and when Demetrius was besieging Rhodes) for that purpose. He conceived the conquest of India would be no difficult task, if he made a sudden irruption into the country, and he acted upon this conception. Seleucus was deceived. The report of his invasion had gone before him; and when he passed the Indus, he found an Indian, named Sandrocolta, with a very numer-

ous army, and a large number of elephants, waiting to receive him. Awed by this formidable array, Seleucus entered into a treaty with Sandrocolta, by which he agreed to renounce all pretensions to that country, upon receiving 500 elephants. Seleucus received his elephants, and returned to Babylon.

This was the final result of Alexander's Indian conquests! this the pitiful fruit of the streams of blood shed to gratify inordinate ambition! For the lives of tens of thousands of human beings, a few poor beasts were received—a result clearly showing the perversion of human nature.

While Seleucus was thus employed, B. C. 303, Cassander of Macedonia beseiged Athens. In this extremity, the Athenians had recourse to their new tutelar deity, Demetrius. Their call was responded to: Demetrius set sail with 330 galleys, and a great body of foot soldiers, with whom he drove Cassander out of Attica, pursuing him as far as Thermopylæ, where he defeated him, and captured Heraclea. Six thousand Macedonians at this time, also, came over to the side of Demetrius.

On the return of Demetrius to Athens, the inhabitants having lavished the highest honour which they could think of upon him, had recourse to new flatteries. Being a demigod in their sight, they lodged him in that part of the temple of Minerva called the Parthenon, which he profaned with the most infamous debaucheries, in mockery of their excessive and criminal adulation. Athenæus says that he considered the Athenians creatures born only for slavery, and denominated them abject wretches for their servility. This is very probable; for Demetrius, though the Athenians decreed that he was a tutelar deity, does not appear to have so parted with his senses as to have believed them. In this respect, he had a mind greater than Alexander. Truly, adulation is no better than interest under the disguise of friendship. It was for the protection he afforded them, that the Athenians flattered Demetrius: on a future day, when his fortunes were fallen, they shut their gates against him. Such conduct is exemplified by every-day observation, even in a Christian land, where mankind are taught to look upon each other as brethren.

After these proceedings, Demetrius entered the Peloponnesus, and wrested from Ptolemy the cities of Sicyon, Corinth, and others, where he had garrisons. This led to the appointment of Demetrius as generalissimo of Greece, for the conquest of Macedonia and Thrace—an injudicious measure, which led to the formation of a new confederacy against Antigonus.

The appointment of Demetrius as general of the states of Greece proved not only to Cassander, but to Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Ptolemy, that their common interest called upon them to resist the overpowerful Antigonus. Accordingly, a confederacy was formed by these three kings, and Seleucus hastened into Assyria to make preparations for the war. B. C. 302.

The first operations of this war commenced at the Hellespont; Cassander and Lysimachus having deemed it expedient that the former should continue in Europe, to defend it against Demetrius, while the latter should invade the provinces of Antigonus in Asia. Lysimachus consequently passed the Hellespont, and either by treaty or his arms reduced Phrygia, Lydia, Lycaonia, and chief of the territories between the Propontis and the river Mæander.

Antigonus was at Antigonia, in Upper Syria, a city he had himself built, when the news of this confederacy reached him. At this moment, he was celebrating some games he had instituted at that city; but he broke up the assembly abruptly, and commenced preparations for advancing against the enemy. When his troops were ready, he marched expeditiously over mount Taurus, and entered Cilicia, where he replenished his finances from the treasury of Quinda, a city in that province, and augmented his troops. After this, he advanced towards the enemy, and retook several places in his march, which had been captured by Lysimachus. As Lysimachus was acting singlehanded, he thought it prudent to stand upon the defensive, till the confederate forces, which were on their march, should join him: the remaining part of the year, therefore, elapsed without action, and each party retired into winter quarters.

On the departure of Antigonus from Syria, Ptolemy invaded that country, and recovered all Phenicia, Judea, and Cœlo Syria, except Tyre and Sidon; but in consequence of a false report, that Lysimachus had been defeated, he retired full of alarm into Egypt.

The conjunction of the confederate forces took place in the spring of B. C. 301. They were commanded by Lysimachus and Seleucus, and they entered Phrygia almost at the same time with their opponents, Antigonus and Demetrius. A decisive engagement ensued. The battle was fought near Ipsus, a city in Phrygia, and it ended in the defeat and death of Antigonus, and the destruction of the power that he had raised. It is said that he brought 70,000 fighting men into the field,

and that 10,000 only escaped the carnage—so terrible and unrelenting is the demoniac spirit of war.

The consequences of the victory at Ipsus were the third and final partition of the empire, and the erection of the satrapies into independent kingdoms. Ptolemy was established in Egypt, Lybia, Cœlo Syria, and Palestine; Cassander, in Macedonia and Greece; Lysimachus, in Thrace, Bithynia, and the districts adjacent to the Hellespont and Bosphorus; and Seleucus in Syria, Babylonia, and the eastern provinces. It is to this last partition that Daniel's prophecies of the division of Alexander's empire among his four generals seem to have alluded. "Therefore the he goat waxed very great: and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones toward the four winds of heaven," Dan. viii. 8. "And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled: for his kingdom shall be plucked up, even for others beside those," chap. xi. 4.

Thus ended the struggle for power amongst the generals of the renowned Alexander. It continued during twenty-two years, and during this contentious period events are crowded together in quick succession, interesting, both from the talents of the chiefs concerned in them, and from the singular combinations of political affairs continually occurring. The cautious Ptolemy, the base Polysperchon, the haughty Antipater, the designing Leonnatus, the cruel Perdiccas, the rapacious Antigonus, the brave and generous Eumenes, appear like so many fleeting figures passing over the stage, while the sceptre of Alexander sliding from the weak hands of his brother and son, and the extinction of his race, are scarcely noticed by the reader. The empire which his ambition and power acquired could only be upheld by his own hand; but in the midst of his conquests he was struck down by the resistless hand of the universal conqueror, death. His power and his future schemes passed away as a vision in the night: and no sooner had his commanding spirit, which ruled the fierce energies of the Macedonian chiefs, fled, than the mighty strife for empire commenced among those chiefs: a strife which has no parallel in history, and which exhibits the state of man by nature in lively colours. In it he appears ambitious, crafty, revengeful, bloodthirsty, rapacious, unprincipled, with all the evil passions which can torment the heart and enslave the immortal soul.

Concerning the internal policy of this period, Heeren says: "The almost unbroken series of wars which had raged from the time of Alexander, must have precluded the possibility of much being effected with respect to domestic organization. It appears to have been nearly, if not wholly, military. Yet were the numerous devastations in some measures compensated by the erection of new cities, in which these princes vied with one another, impelled partly by vanity to immortalize their names, and partly by policy to support their dominion, most of the new settlements being military colonies. Nevertheless, this was but a sorry reparation for the manifold oppressions to which the natives were exposed by the practice of quartering the army upon them. The spread of the language and civilization of the Greeks deprived them of all national distinction, their own languages sinking into mere provincial dialects. Alexander's monarchy affords a striking example of the little that can be expected from a forced amalgamation of races, when the price of that amalgamation is the obliteration of national character in the individuals." Reader, the whole superstructure was raised by the device of man, and being founded in blood, the curse of the Almighty brought it to nought!

CHAPTER VII.

THE KINGDOM OF MACEDONIA, FROM THE BATTLE OF IPSUS, TO THE ROMAN CONQUEST.

CASSANDER.

Although Cassander had been raised to the throne of Macedonia by the issue of the battle of Ipsus, he did not find it a bed of roses. Demetrius, son of Antigonus, had still some territories in Greece, whence he derived hopes that he might one day be able to restore his fallen fortunes. These hopes of Demetrius filled Cassander with fears, and he was jealous also of the power of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, whom he had persecuted from his infancy. Under the influence of these feelings, tormenting to the heart notwithstanding the show of outward grandeur which surrounded him, Cassander strengthened the frontiers of his dominions, restored decayed cities, and built or founded others, as Thessalonica, that he might be able to repel either of his foes, should they attack him. He likewise laboured to secure the love of his subjects to his family, being, not without cause, afraid of the inconstancy of the Macedonians. While he was thus employed, a more formidable enemy than any whose power he was providing against appeared in his very palace: that enemy was death, against whose power no mortal arm can prevail. Cassander was seized with a dropsy, which brought him to his end, like Herod, with loathsome circumstances. This was the end of his dark and cruel deeds.

The death of Cassander occurred B. C. 298, after he had held the government of Macedonia nineteen years, and had ruled it three years with the title of king. He left three sons, Philip, Antipater, and Alexander, the eldest of whom succeeded him on the throne.

PHILIP.

The reign of Philip was brief. He died shortly after his accession, upon which his brothers, Antipater and Alexander,

drew the sword to contest the crown, which, as will be seen, was fatal to both.

ANTIPATER AND ALEXANDER.

In the quarrel which ensued between these two sons of Cassander, their mother, Thessalonica, favoured Alexander, who was the youngest, instead of endeavouring to heal the breach. This undue partiality produced the most bitter results: Antipater, enraged thereby, killed her with his own hand, turning a deaf ear to her entreaties by the breasts which had nourished him in infancy to spare her life. In order to avenge this deed, and thereby to advance his own interests, Alexander sought the aid of Pyrrhus and Demetrius Poliorcetes, both of whom obeyed the call, but only with the expectation of being paid. Pyrrhus arrived first, and having made himself master of several cities in Macedonia, part of which he retained as a compensation for his services, and reconciled the two brothers, he returned to his own dominions. Demetrius arrived shortly after his departure, and was displeased to find that his assistance was not required. The semblance of friendship, however, was preserved between him and Alexander, and they entertained each other at reciprocal feasts. But their hearts were false. Demetrius, at length upon some intelligence, either true or fictitious, that Alexander intended to kill him, prevented the execution of that design by destroying him, and Antipater, fearing the same catastrophe, fled into Thrace. B. C. 295.

DEMETRIUS.

The vacant throne of Macedonia was now seized by Demetrius, who possessed in addition, Thessaly, a great portion of Southern Greece, with the provinces of Attica and Megaris, to which, after a fierce resistance, and a twofold capture of Thebes, he added Bœotia.

Demetrius might have tranquilly enjoyed this extensive realm, but his restless ambition led to his ruin. He formed a plan for the recovery of his father's power in Asia, upon which Seleucus and Ptolemy roused Lysimachus, king of Thrace, and Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, to attack him at the same time. Alarmed by this confederacy, the Macedonians mutinied, and Demetrius fled, disguised as a common soldier, into the Peloponnesus, which was governed by his son Antigonus. B. C. 287.

PYRRHUS.

On the flight of Demetrius, Pyrrhus ascended the throne of Macedonia; but after a brief reign of seven months, he was reduced to the same necessity to which Demetrius had been before him. He was compelled to take refuge in flight from the power or popularity of Lysimachus, who invaded Macedonia, and to leave him a kingdom which he himself had stolen.

LYSIMACHUS.

In the mean time, Demetrius had sailed into Asia with the hope of capturing the provinces belonging to Lysimachus, B. C. 286. In this he was disappointed. He was driven into Cilicia by Agathocles, son of Lysimachus, and forced to surrender to Seleucus, his father-in-law, who detained him prisoner in the Chersonesus of Syria, near Laodicea, till the day of his death, which occurred B. C. 284.

In consequence of the accession of Lysimachus, Thrace, and, for a brief period, even Asia Minor, were annexed to the Macedonian kingdom. But a worm was at the root of this power, even at its commencement. Lysimachus was unfortunate in his domestic relations. Strife ruled dominant in his court, and at length having, upon the instigation of his queen, the wicked Arsinoe, put his son Agathocles to death, Cassandra, the widow of the young prince, with her brother Ptolemy Ceraunus, fled to the court of Seleucus, and stimulated that prince to war. The two armies met at Corupedion, in Phrygia, and Lysimachus was defeated and slain, leaving his kingdoms to Seleucus by his victory. B. C. 282.

Seleucus Nicator, or, the conqueror, already lord of Asia, now caused himself to be proclaimed king of Macedonia, and there was every prospect of that country becoming again the head seat of monarchy. Such was the victor's intention; but as he was marching into Europe the next year, the shores of which he had already gained, he fell by the murderous hand of Ptolemy Ceraunus, who availing himself of the treasures of his victim, and of the yet remaining troops of Lysimachus, took possession of the throne. B. C. 281.

In the same year that Seleucus fell, Pyrrhus invaded Italy as an ally of the Tarentines; the Achæan league was revived in Southern Greece; and Cappadocia, Armenia, and Pontus,

in the north, and Bactria in the east, became independent kingdoms.

PTOLEMY CERAUNUS.

On usurping the throne of Macedonia, Ptolemy had to treat with three foes: Antiochus, son of Seleucus; Antigonus, son of Demetrius; and Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. Antigonus, who since the death of Demetrius, had maintained himself in the Peloponnesus, in hopes of one day securing the crown of Macedonia, advanced with an army to contest the prize with Ptolemy, but he was defeated; while Antiochus was pacified with fair words, and Pyrrhus with presents, and the hand of Ptolemy's daughter in marriage. After this, Ptolemy fraudulently obtained the hand of Arsinoe, widow of Lysimachus, in marriage, which was followed by the murder of her two sons, Philip and Lysimachus, in her presence, and her own banishment into Samothrace. B. C. 280.

Ptolemy now deemed himself secure on the throne of Macedonia. Providence had, however, marked his crimes, and did not suffer them to remain long unpunished. An innumerable multitude of Gauls, who had been settled in Pannonia about two centuries before, driven by want, or instigated by a restless disposition, poured into Thrace and Macedonia, and desolated the country. Ptolemy lead an army against these ferocious savages, but he was defeated and slain B. C. 279.

In this dilemma, the Macedonians knew not what measures to take for the preservation of their country.

MELEAGER.

Meleager, the brother of Ptolemy, was first elected as king; but finding that his hand was too weak to hold the reins of government, they deposed him after he had reigned two months.

ANTIPATER.

The Macedonians next exalted Antipater, the son of Philip, brother of Cassander, to the throne; but he governed only forty-five days, upon which an interregnum followed.

In the mean time, the Gauls wasted the country of Macedonia. At length, however, Sosthenes, a Macedonian noble, assumed the command, and this time liberated his country. But his triumph was short. The next year, B C. 278, the

storm returned with ten fold fury: Sosthenes was defeated and slain; and although the Greeks brought their united forces into the field, the Gauls, under the guidance of their *brenn*, or chief, burst into Greece on two different sides, and pushed on to Delphi, with intent to plunder it of its immense wealth. Here the success of the invaders ended. Animated by the danger in which their temple was placed, the Greeks charged the Gauls with so much impetuosity, that they were unable to sustain the shock, and were slaughtered in great numbers. Their chief fell by his own hands, and the miserable remnant fell back upon a fresh body of their countrymen established on the Propontis, with whom they passed over into Asia, where, after inflicting many calamities on the states of Antolia, they obtained possession of the provinces, which received from them the denomination of Gallo-Grecia or Galatia.

It was to the descendants of this people, that the epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians was written. See that epistle.

After the death of Sosthenes, who had refused regal honours, Antiochus, son of Seleucus Nicator, and Antigonus, son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who was now called Gonatas, from Gonni, in Thessaly, where he had been educated, appeared as rivals for the crown of Macedonia, Antigonus Gonatas, however, bought off his competitor by treaty and marriage, he marrying the niece of Antiochus.

ANTIGONUS GONATAS.

The reign of Antigonus commenced B. C. 278. His first noted act was the expulsion of the Gauls, who made another irruption into his territories in hopes of plunder. After this he proceeded to the consolidation of his kingdom; but before he could effect this, he was dethroned by Pyrrhus, who, on his return from Italy, was a second time proclaimed king of Macedonia. B. C. 274.

SECOND NOTICE OF PYRRHUS.

Extraordinary as these revolutions appear, says Heeren, they may be easily accounted for by the mode of warfare in those days. Every thing depended (humanly speaking) on the armies; and these were composed of mercenaries ever willing to fight against him they had defended the day before, if they fancied his rival to be a more valiant or fortunate

leader. Since the death of Alexander, the Macedonian phalanx was no longer dependent on its captains, but they on their men. The impoverishment of the countries, in consequence of war, was such, that the soldier's was almost the only profitable trade; and none prosecuted that trade more ardently than the Gauls, whose services were ever ready for any one who chose to pay for them. Their swords were ever sharpened for the slaughter of their species; friends as well as foes, neighbours as well as strangers. Their barbarity was such, that their very names were dreaded. No emotions of pity warmed their breasts. Hardened by their dreadful avocation, they swept all before them, destroying alike the fair face of the creation and their brother man. Human depravity was stamped upon their every movement, demonstrating beyond dispute the fallen condition of the human race.

On the expulsion of Antigonus from the throne of Macedonia, he again retired into Southern Greece. He was followed thither by his rival, who had been solicited to place Cleonymus on the throne of Lacedæmonia. This was the professed object of Pyrrhus, on entering the Peloponnesus; but he went beyond it, for he ravaged the lands of Lyconia, and made an attempt to surprise Sparta. In this enterprise, however, Pyrrhus was defeated, and he turned his arms against Argos, into which city he was admitted by some of his partisans. But the Argives in general were favourable to Antigonus, and having admitted him with a chosen body of troops through another gate, a fierce struggle ensued, which terminated in the death of Pyrrhus, B. C. 271.

On the death of Pyrrhus, a brief contest took place between his son Alexander and Antigonus for the crown of Macedonia, which resulted in the confirmation of it to the latter.

SECOND NOTICE OF ANTIGONUS GONATAS.

Some years after the death of Pyrrhus, Antigonus Gonatas became very powerful in his kingdom, whence the Achæan league, which had been dissolved in the commotions subsequent to the death of Alexander, and revived in Southern Greece, B. C. 281, was renewed with increased vigour, in order to check his power. Alexander, king of Epirus, was induced by this motive to join in this league, and Antigonus deemed it so formidable, that he conceived he should never be able to support his authority over Greece, unless he was in

possession of Corinth. Under this impression, he possessed himself of this place by craft; but Aratus, who had become the animated spirit of the confederation, retaliated, and wrested it from his hands by a bold attack in the darkness of midnight, when the Achæan league was joined by Corinth, Trœzene, and Epidaurus.

This event took place in the year B. C. 243, and soon after, Antigonus, who had passed the allotted period of man's existence, died, leaving his crown to his son Demetrius.

DEMETRIUS II.

In the latter part of his reign, Antigonus had recourse to various means, and more especially to an alliance with the Ætolians, for the purpose of counterpoising the power of the Achæans. Demetrius adopted a different line of policy. He waged war upon the Ætolians, and endeavoured to repress the growth of the Achæan power, by favouring the tyrants of particular cities. The remainder of the reign of this prince, as Heeren observes, is little more than a chasm in history: he died B. C. 233.

ANTIGONUS II.

Antigonus, surnamed Doson, or "will give," because he was slow in the performance of promises, succeeded Demetrius II. Antigonus Doson was the nephew of Demetrius; but he was raised to the throne in preference to Philip his son, the rightful heir, inasmuch as the latter was yet an infant.

At the period of the accession of Antigonus, a revolution in the Peloponnesus was about to effect a great and important change in the political aspect of Greece. The ancient laws of Lycurgus were only nominally observed in Sparta; but the plunder of foreign countries, and particularly the permission to transfer landed estates, obtained by Epitadeus, had produced great inequality of property. In the year B. C. 244, king Agis III. introduced a bold plan of reform, including a fresh division of landed property, an abolition of debts, and the weakening of the power of the Ephori. This was attended in the beginning with partial success, but eventually frustrated by the other king, Leonidas, who brought about a counter revolution, B. C. 241, which terminated in the extinction of Agis and his family. Leonidas, however, was suc-

ceeded, B. C. 236, by his son Cleomenes, who defeated the plans of Aratus to force Sparta to accede to the Achæan league, B. C. 227. After this, Cleomenes renewed the reforms of Agis, and by a forcible revolution overthrew the Ephori. At the same time, he increased the Spartans by the admission of a number of Periæci, and enforced the laws of Lycurgus referring to private life. After this, B. C. 224, Cleomenes turned his arms against the Achæans, compelled Argos and Corinth to secede from the league, defeated the confederates at Dyme, and reduced Aratus to such a condition, that he was compelled to seek assistance from the king of Macedonia.

Antigonus was not slow in advancing his own interests. He entered the Peloponnesus, and obtaining a complete victory over Cleomenes at Sellasia, on the borders of Laconia, Sparta was placed at his mercy: and it was compelled to acknowledge its independence, indeed, as a gift at the hands of Antigonus, B. C. 222. Thus from having been opponents, the Macedonians became allies of the Achæans.

Antigonus did not long survive his victory; he died lamented by the Greeks in general, B. C. 221, and was succeeded in his kingdom by his nephew Philip.

PHILIP II.

Philip II. was the son of Demetrius, before whom Antigonus had been preferred, on account of his infancy, on the death of his father.

Philip, who ascended the throne at the early age of sixteen, was endowed with qualities such as might, under favourable circumstances, have formed a great prince. Macedonia had recruited her strength, and her grand political aim, the supremacy of Greece, secured by the connection of Antigonus with the Achæans, and by the victory of Sellasia, seemed to be already within her grasp. Philip, however, lived in a time when the Romans were seeking power on earth—when the fourth monarchy of prophecy was beginning to be unfolded; and the more vigorous and prompt his efforts were to withstand that power, the more deeply was he entangled in the new maze of events. These events, indeed, embittered his life, and at last brought him to the grave with a broken heart, and with the character of a despot.

The first five years of Philip's reign were occupied by a participation in the war between the Achæans and Ætolians,

called "The war of the two leagues." The Ætolians were dissatisfied with the peace that followed the battle of Sellasia, whence on receiving intelligence of the death of Antigonus, despising the youth of Philip, they commenced a series of piratical attacks on the Messenians and Macedonians. This line of conduct rekindled the flames of war. Aratus was sent to expel the Ætolians from Messenia, and entered into a convention with their leaders for the purpose, after which he dismissed the greater part of his army. This was an error of which the Ætolians took advantage. They attacked him unexpectedly, and having ravaged the greater part of the Peloponnesus, returned home laden with plunder.

The errors committed by Aratus compelled the Achæans to have recourse to Philip, who, placing himself at their head, went to Corinth, where a general assembly of the states was held. The result of the deliberations of this assembly was, a declaration of war against the Ætolians, which was voted by all the Southern Greeks, except the Spartans and Eleans, and preparations commenced on both sides for the strife, B. C. 220.

About the same time a war broke out between the two trading republics of Rhodes and Byzantium, in consequence of the heavy tolls exacted by the latter from all vessels entering into the Euxine Sea. This was insignificant in itself, but as a commercial war, it was the only one of its kind in this age. It ended in the success of the Rhodians, who, being powerful by sea, compelled the Byzantines to abolish the onerous duties.

On the defeat of Cleomenes by Antigonus Doson, at Sellasia, he fled to Egypt. It was at this date he sought to return to his native country, to regain his throne, as related in the History of the Egyptians.

The war between Philip and the Ætolians was conducted with great ferocity. The progress of Philip was aided by his fleet, which enabled Macedonia eventually to gain the ascendency as a naval power; but it was also checked by the intrigues of Apelles and others, who envied Aratus. These, working in the dark, weakened the influence of his prudent counsels, and thereby checked the success of Philip. But while the Greeks were thus contending with each other, foreign events taught them to sheathe their swords. The increasing power of the Romans and Carthaginians, who were contending for the empire of the world in the second Punic war, suggested peace. They saw that it would soon be ne-

cessary to defend the independence of Greece against either Rome or Carthage, and a treaty was in consequence concluded between the general assembly of the Ætolian states and the representatives of the Achæan confederacy, at Naupactus, B. C. 217.

This peace was not of long duration. Philip, conceiving that it would be his interest to enter into an alliance with Hannibal, who had already invaded the peninsula, took that step, and resolved to invade Italy, to assist in the annihilation of Rome. This was fatal to his interests. The Romans resolved to find Philip such employment in Greece as would leave him no leisure to attack Italy. They prevailed on the Ætolians to violate the treaty, holding out to them as a reward the possession of Acarnania and the Ionian islands. The republics of Sparta and Elis, and Attalus, king of Pergamus, with Scerdilaidas and Pleutratus, kings of Illyria, acceded to this confederacy; while Philip was supported by the Acarnanians, Bœotians, and Achæans. B. C. 211.

At the commencement of this outbreak, the aged general Aratus warned Philip of the dangers that would result from his indulgence in ambitious projects. His advice was unheeded, and so unpalatable was it to the monarch's ears, that he caused him to be poisoned: this crime filled the Greeks with horror and indignation. He was succeeded, as head of the Achæan league, by Philopœmon, who proved himself worthy of the dignity.

Although attacked on every side, Philip successfully extricated himself from his present difficulties. He defeated the Ætolians at Lamia, in Thessaly; successfully withstood the combined forces of the Ætolians and Romans at Elis; captured a stronghold of the Eleans; and, finally, the Achæans gained a great victory over the Lacedæmonians, in the territories of Mantinea, in which Philipœmon slew with his own hand Machinadas, the usurper of Lacedæmon.

In the mean time, Attalus, king of Pergamus, was recalled home to defend his own kingdom from an invasion of the Bithynians, and the Romans became too deeply engaged, by the presence of Hannibal in Italy, to continue their aid to the Ætolians. This brought about a peace. The Ætolians, thus deprived of their allies, made overtures to that end, which were accepted. B. C. 208.

The sword of Philip had scarcely been sheathed, when he entered into an alliance with the Syrian monarch against the infant ruler of the Egyptians, as related in their history. He

also entered into an alliance with Prusias, king of Bithynia, against Attalus, king of Pergamus, and declared war against the Rhodians. B. C. 203.

The end which Philip had in view in these proceedings was chiefly to disarm the military servants of the Romans. But his designs were defeated. He was punished by the overthrow and ruin of the Macedonian fleet at Chios. B. C. 202.

Not yet having learned wisdom from his experience, Philip next added the Athenians to the number of his enemies. The Athenians were not in a condition to defend themselves from his power, and they supplicated the Romans for aid. This produced a war with Rome, which suddenly hurled the Macedonian power from its lofty height, and, by making way for the commencement of the Roman dominion in the east, speedily wrought a change in all the political relations of that quarter.

In the first campaign, the Romans sent a fleet and army to secure Athens from the grasp of Philip. This they effected: after which the Romans advanced into Northern Greece, where they compelled the Bœotians to join the league against Philip. At the same time, the legions in Epirus marched into Macedonia, and though they gained no immediate advantages, they opened the way for a future decisive invasion. B. C. 199.

In the next year, the conduct of the war was confided to the consul Flaminius, who rekindled by his harangues, the love of freedom in the breasts of the Grecians, whence the fortunes of Philip declined so rapidly, that his allies, especially the Achæans, lost their courage, and made peace with the Romans. Still Philip persisted in his opposition. He assembled an army in Thessaly, nearly equal in number to that of his adversaries, with which he occupied a range of low hills, called, from their peculiar shape, *Cynoscephalæ*, the dogs'-heads. At this place, a battle was fought, which decided the fate of his power. The Macedonians were completely routed, leaving 8000 dead on the field, and 5000 prisoners in the hands of their enemies, while the loss of the Romans did not exceed 700 men. Thus stripped of power, Philip was reduced to the necessity of soliciting a peace, and of accepting it as a boon. B. C. 197.

The articles of peace between the Romans and Philip, after the battle of Cynoscephalæ, were: 1. That all Grecian cities in Europe and Asia should be independent, and Philip

should withdraw his garrisons. 2. That he should surrender the whole of his navy, and never afterwards keep more than 500 armed men on foot. 3. That he should not, without previously informing Rome, undertake any war out of Macedonia. 4. That he should pay 1000 talents (about 250,000*l.* sterling) by instalments, and deliver up his younger son Demetrius as an hostage.

Thus successful, the Romans soon after solemnly proclaimed the freedom of Greece at the Isthmian games. But this, though it was received by the Greeks with the wildest exultations of joy, and the most extravagant displays of gratitude, was no better than a farce. Loud as the Greeks were in the display of their feelings, the measure served only to transfer the supremacy of their country from Macedonia to Rome. The history both of Macedonia and Greece, from this date, is interwoven with that of Rome.

After the proclamation of the freedom of Greece, Flaminius showed his insincerity by secretly endeavouring to weaken the Achæan league. He took care that the Achæans should have an opponent in the person of Nabis, although under the necessity of waging war against him previous to his return into Italy. Notwithstanding, after the murder of Nabis by the Ætolians, the Achæan league was strengthened by the accession of Sparta. B. C. 192.

About the same time, Greece became once more the theatre of foreign war. Instigated by Hannibal, Antiochus the Great, the king of Syria, declared war against the Romans. Instead, however, of attacking their power in Africa or Italy, he passed over to Greece, where he was gladly received by the Ætolians. The Achæans and Philip were compelled to aid the Romans, and Antiochus was expelled from Greece, leaving his allies exposed to the vengeance of his enemies. The Ætolians paid dearly for their secession: the only terms of peace which the Romans would consent to grant, were, their reduction to poverty, and their deprivation of independence, to which they were compelled to submit. B. C. 189.

While war was pending between the Romans and Antiochus, Philip, as one of the numerous allies of Rome, increased his territory at the expense of the Athamenes, Thracians, and Thessalians, which Rome passed over. After the termination of this war, however, the yoke of Rome became so oppressive, that he resolved to make another struggle for freedom. To this end, his subjects on the sea-coast being inclined to peace, and favourable to the Romans, he removed them into Æma-

thia, and brought multitudes of hardy Thracians to inhabit their territories. He also sought the extirpation of the Dardanians, a barbarous nation, who were the implacable enemies of the Macedonians, by inviting the Bastarnæ, a numerous people inhabiting the banks of the Ister, to come and possess themselves of Dardania; he himself paving their way by presents made to the petty princes of Thrace, to procure for them a safe passage through their dominions.

These measures proved abortive. The transplantation of the inhabitants of whole cities and countries excited universal complaints. Philip heard these complaints; but instead of redressing them, or alleviating the anger of the aggrieved parties, he proceeded to rigorous measures in order to silence them. He put to death a great number upon suspicion that they favoured the Romans, and retained their offspring in prisons, with the intention of destroying them also. The cruelties which he committed increased the hatred of the Macedonians against him, and complaints were forwarded to Rome, from both cities and private persons. His doom would have been inevitable, had not Demetrius, his son, who had regained his liberty, and had been sent to Rome to watch over the interests of Philip, stood in the gap. By his wise exertions only was he saved from the sword of Rome, which was ever ready to attack all those who opposed its power. Demetrius pledged himself for his father's future good conduct, and he returned into Macedonia crowned with the favour of the Romans for his wise policy.

On the return of Demetrius to Macedonia, he was received with enthusiasm by all classes. This involved him in ruin. His elder and illegitimate brother, Perseus, regarded his popularity with a jealous eye, and resolved upon his death. He began by sounding the disposition of those in favour with the king. For some time he was unheeded, but afterwards observing that Philip's hatred increased daily towards the Romans, which Demetrius opposed, they entered into the views of Perseus, and devoted themselves to him. The snares they laid for the life of Demetrius, who was young, and of a generous and confiding disposition, were of a threefold character. They first undermined his credit with the king, by artfully calling forth his defence of the Romans, in private debates; they next accused him of attempting the life of Perseus, which they failed to prove; and, finally, they charged him with treason. Malice at length prevailed. Philip, whose affection for Demetrius had been eradicated

by the artifices of Perseus and his accomplices, gave orders for the secret assassination of his high-minded and promising son, which was accomplished by Didas, who was one of those men ever found in the courts of the ancients, whose business it was to destroy life at the command of their princes.

Demetrius was scarcely in his grave before Perseus altered his conduct towards his parent. The crown, by the removal of his competitor, seemed within his grasp, and he could not disguise his disregard to his parent, and the satisfaction which the death of Demetrius gave him; or endeavour to conceal the number of his dependents, and strength of his faction. Philip discerned the alteration of the conduct of Perseus, and was afraid. He doubted whether a base and cruel son had not deprived him of a worthy and deserving child. He discovered the fact, and formed a design to change the succession, and have Antigonus acknowledged as his heir; but before this could be effected, the wretched monarch died of a broken heart, B. C. 179.

PERSEUS.

When the wicked flourish, mankind are apt to cavil at the ways of Providence, and conceive that they are not founded upon equity. To such the words of the Psalmist are applicable:

> Fret not thyself because of evildoers,
> Neither be thou envious against the workers of iniquity,
> For they shall soon be cut down like the grass,
> And wither as the green herb."—Psa. xxxvii. 1, 2.

This truth will receive illustration from the life of Perseus. He ascended the throne of Macedonia with his hands stained with the blood of his brother; but vengeance was following hard after him.

On the discovery of his treachery towards his brother, Perseus had taken refuge in flight from the vengeance of his injured and incensed parent. Before the death of Philip was made public, however, his partisans sent to him in his place of retreat, and on his arrival he took possession of the crown which he had acquired by guilt, to the astonishment and indignation of the great body of the Macedonians.

One of the earliest acts of Perseus was to put Antigonus, whom Philip had designed to fill the throne, to death, that he might have no competitor for the crown. Thus as he ascended

the throne, so he sought to secure the crown by shedding blood.

It has been already stated, that the settlement of the Bastarnæ (probably a German race resident beyond the Danube) in Dardania was one of the plans traced out by Philip in order to carry on war with them against the Romans. These people were on their march when Philip died, and Perseus, who saw the wisdom of the policy, assisted them in their enterprise. This gave offence to the Romans, and Perseus deemed it prudent to conciliate them, lest he should draw down their vengeance upon him before he was prepared. In consequence of this, the success of the Bastarnæ was but partial: the greatest part of them were compelled to return into their own country. B. C. 175.

Still war was in the heart of Perseus. His hatred of the Romans was as inveterate as that of Philip. While he humbled himself before them, he sent ambassadors to Carthage; and he infringed the treaty between the Romans and Macedonians, by carrying his arms against the Dolopians, his subjects, and destroying Euphanor, the governor, under pretence that he had behaved tyrannically. This furnished the Roman ambassadors with new cause of complaint, and it was heightened by his paying a visit to the temple of Apollo at Delphi, at the head of his forces. Notwithstanding, Perseus by his address still maintained peace with the Romans, it being still his interest.

Sooner or later, however, an appeal to arms between Perseus and the Romans was inevitable. Perseus intended this, and prepared for it accordingly. He allied himself to the Rhodians, Bithynians, and Thracians; laid up vast sums of money; and provided magazines of provisions for the sustenance of a large army for ten years. Charmed with the idea of gaining their freedom from the yoke of the Romans, the Greeks began to incline universally to Perseus, to the neglect of Eumenes, king of Pergamus.

Between Perseus and Eumenes there was deep strife. Hence, when the Greeks turned to the former, Eumenes hastened to Rome, to incite the senate against his competitor. Eumenes succeeded in his intrigue, and when Perseus sought again for peace, he was answered, that if he was sincerely inclined to treat with the Romans, he might have an opportunity of doing it in his own dominions, into which they were about to send their consul with an army.

The success of Eumenes caused Perseus to attempt to rid

himself of that prince, first by assassination, and afterwards by poison; but he was defeated in his purpose, and weakened his cause by the act.

The Roman army, under the command of Licinius Crassus, at length arrived in Macedonia. Alarmed at their promptitude, Perseus was again induced to send ambassadors to Rome to sue for peace. They were unsuccessful in their mission, and Perseus renewed his preparations for war.

At the period of taking the field, the army of Perseus consisted of 39,000 foot and 4000 cavalry, the finest army that, since Alexander's expedition to Asia, any Macedonian monarch had collected. These all thirsted to restore the glory of the Macedonian name to its ancient splendour: nor would Perseus accept the aid of other Greeks when proffered, lest that glory should be diminished.

The operations of the Macedonian monarch were first carried on in Thessaly, where the Roman army was encamped. He took several cities, while others opened their gates to him. He then wasted the country about Pheræ, near which the Roman consul lay, and growing more bold every day by the inactivity of his enemy, he at length appeared before his camp. A battle ensued, which resulted to the advantage of the Macedonians, and had Perseus followed it up by storming the enemy's intrenchments, as his generals, Hippias and Leonatus, advised, he would probably have put an end to the war. This oversight gave the Roman consul opportunity of retiring to an advantageous post, and when Perseus again attacked him, he was routed with considerable loss, and compelled to retire into Macedonia.

Though defeated, Perseus was not yet destroyed. He appeared again in the field, and gained several advantages over both Licinius Crassus and his successor, Appius Claudius. Had he been prudent as well as valiant, he might yet have checked the power of Rome; but he disobliged Gentius, king of Illyria, whom he had recently engaged to war with the Romans as they passed through his territories; and Clondicus, probably king of the Bastarnæ, who had agreed to bring a considerable reinforcement to the king's army. To these he promised a sum of money for their services, which he afterwards, from his ruling passion, avarice, refused to pay, thereby converting them into foes. Another imprudence was the rejection of the amity of his ancient foe, Eumenes, who offered to assist in the reduction of the power of Rome; he

having discovered the enmity which Rome, at this date, bore to crowned heads.

Thus was the war protracted for four years, from B. C. 173 to B. C. 169. At the end of that time, the Romans appointed the consul Lucius Æmilius Paullus to the command of the forces in Macedonia. The skill of this consul soon changed the aspect of affairs. Ever active, he sent a detachment over mount Olympus to attack the army of Perseus in his rear. This detachment was three days in passing over Olympus, during which time Æmilius drew out his forces to attack the enemy in his camp. In these attacks, the Romans were repulsed by the engines placed upon the fortifications of his camp; but at length the detachment appeared on the other side of the Macedonian camp, and Perseus, alarmed, fled precipitately to Pydna.

On his arrival at Pydna, Perseus held a council of war, in which, after much discussion, it was resolved to hazard a battle. This was what the Roman general desired, and he responded to his preparations by arraying his forces in the face of the Macedonians. After thus braving each other for some time, the deadly strife commenced. Victory was long doubtful; but at length, it decided for the Romans. The forces of the Macedonians were completely overthrown, and Perseus fled to Pella, Amphipolis, and finally to the island of Samothrace, which was looked upon as sacred, for refuge. He was afterwards taken prisoner, and was led in chains to Rome, to adorn the triumph of his haughty conqueror. He died at Rome, B. C. 166, under circumstances of the greatest ignominy: his keepers having in vain sought to compel him to put a period to his own existence, it is said they prevented his taking rest, in which miserable state he died. Thus in the death of this fratricide we see the ways of Providence justified.

> The house of the wicked shall be overthrown.
> Prov. xiv. 11.

By the victory of Pydna, the fate of Macedonia was sealed. No monarch was permitted any longer to sit upon its throne. According to the system at that period followed by Rome, indeed, it was not immediately converted into a province. It was first deprived of all offensive power, by being republicanized, and divided into four districts, wholly distinct from one another, and bound to pay Rome half the tribute they were wont to furnish their kings. Afterwards, however, about B. C. 150. Andriscus, who pretended to be the son of Perseus,

having caused an insurrection, and set up for a tyrant, on his defeat by Metellus, the country was constituted a Roman province. The last glimmer of its glory was eclipsed by Roman splendour! The throne whereon a Philip, an Alexander, had been seated, was subjected to republican Rome! B. C. 148.

It was in the natural order of things, says Heeren, that the independence of Greece, and more especially that of the Achæan league, should fall with Perseus. The political inquisition of the Roman commissaries not only visited the declared partisans with punishment, but those also who stood neutral. Amid the rising hatred, Rome did not deem herself secure until she had laid all her opponents prostrate. More than a thousand of the most eminent Achæans were summoned to Rome to justify themselves, and were there detained seventeen years in prison without a hearing. At the sack of Corinth, B. C. 146, the last glimpse of Grecian freedom vanished. Greece, from that time, under the name of Achaia, became a Roman province; although to a few cities, such as Athens, which became the university of the Roman empire, some shadow of freedom was left, to mock their ancient glory.

Once only after the yoke of Rome had been made thus heavy, did the Macedonians endeavour to deliver themselves from its bitterness. A pseudo-Philipus appeared on the borders of Thrace, and many Macedonians joined him, and urged him to enter Macedonia and assume the regal title. This counsel was adopted, and the greatest part of the country submitted to the adventurer; but the Romans sent a numerous army, under the command of the quæstor Lucius Tremellius, who retook the cities which Philip had subdued and fortified, and finally defeated and slew him in battle. This attempt on the part of the Macedonians, therefore, only resulted in their yoke being made more galling; the Roman governors were encouraged by their disaffection to treat them with great rigour, especially Sellanus.*

The history of Macedonia teaches an emphatic lesson on the short-lived nature of all sublunary things, and the madness of ambition. In it the reader has perceived a great empire

* An outline exhibiting the downfall of the Macedonian monarchy has thus been given in the last chapter. The details will be found in the history of Rome, to which they more properly belong; Rome being, figuratively speaking, the eagle, and Macedonia, as well as Greece, its prey.

arise from small beginnings, to flourish for a little while, and then vanish away. The seeds of its ruin were sown at the birth of its greatness. It was built up by injustice and bloodshed, whence it could never prosper. For as with individuals, so with kingdoms; sooner or later they meet with the due reward of injustice and wrong. The world may laugh at the idea of an overruling Providence, but its actions are strongly marked upon the pages of ancient history. Cast your thoughts back, reader, to the strife of the successors of Alexander, the utter extinction of his family, and the rapid overthrow of his mighty empire, extending from the Adriatic to the Hyphasis, or Beyah, and from the sands of Libya to the deserts of Toorkistaun, and equalling, in territorial surface, that occupied by the modern empires of Turkey, Persia, and Mawaralnhar united. Did the hand of man alone do these mighty things? No, truly not. A Power far superior to that which is centred in his hand controlled all the events according to his just will and pleasure. Not that we assert that God was the author of the dark deeds committed by the various chiefs during that period. God is not the author of evil; but man is sometimes permitted to work confusion in the earth, that He in the end might show himself the Supreme Ruler of all below: when that is done, his hand is laid upon their strife, rage, and power, and they can go no farther. If there were not a Ruler on high, what terrors would reign below! Man, left to himself, would long ago have madly extirpated his own species from the earth. The picture which the poet presents of the immediate descendants of Cain is not altogether ideal; it exhibits a clear view of human nature. He says:

> Now from the east, supreme in arts and arms,
> The tribes of Cain, awakening war-alarms,
> Full in the spirit of their father, came
> To waste their brethren's lands with sword and flame.
> In vain the younger race of Adam rose,
> With force unequal to repel their foes;
> Their fields in blood, their homes in ruin lay,
> Their whole inheritance became a prey;
> The stars, to whom, as gods, they rais'd their cry,
> Roll'd, heedless of their offerings, through the sky;
> Till urged on Eden's utmost bounds at length,
> In fierce despair, they rallied all their strength.
> They fought, but they were vanquish'd in the fight,
> Captur'd, or slain, or scatter'd in the flight.
> The morning battle-scene at eve was spread
> With ghastly heaps, the dying and the dead;
> The dead unmourn'd, unburied, left to lie
> By friends and foes, the dying left to die.

The victim, while he groan'd his soul away,
Heard the gaunt vulture hurrying to his prey;
Then strengthless felt the ravening beak that tore
His widened wounds, and drank the living gore.
MONTGOMERY.

Mankind, possessing such evil passions as these, would have proceeded to greater extremities than the wide range of ancient history presents to our view, had not an overruling power checked those passions. Boundless as ambition is in its desires, it can proceed no farther than He pleases whose voice has taught the deep to know its bounds. This truth is exemplified in almost every page of the ancient historian. With the voice of creation and the truth of Scripture they proclaim, THE LORD GOD OMNIPOTENT REIGNETH. Pagan darkness may have blotted out his name from these records, yet his hand is no less seen in the events than when he

on the chosen race,
Showered miracles, and ceased not to dispense
Judgments that filled the land from age to age
With hope, and love, and gratitude, and fear;
And with amazement smote; thereby to assert
His scorned, or unacknowleded sovereignty.
WORDSWORTH.

The perversion of human intellect alone hides this truth from the view of mankind: so deeply has sin impaired the faculties with which they are richly endowed by the bounty of the Being they neglect or despise.

THE HISTORY

OF

THE SELEUCIDÆ IN SYRIA

CHAPTER I.

THE SELEUCIDÆ TILL THE COMMENCEMENT OF THEIR UNION WITH THE ROMANS.

SELEUCUS NICATOR.

It has been seen in the History of the Macedonians, page 256, that, on the partition of Alexander's mighty empire, B. C. 301, Seleucus was established in Syria, Babylonia, and the eastern provinces. The era of the Seleucidæ, which commences with Seleucus, and takes its name from him, is, however, dated from the capture of Babylon, in the 117th Olympiad, or B. C. 312. It was dated thus over all the east, by Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans, in stating the numbers of the years. By the Jews, it was denominated, "The era of contracts," because they were compelled, when subjects of the Seleucidæ, to use it in all their contracts and civil matters. By the Arabians, it was called Taarich-dhul-Karnain, that is, "The epoch of the two-horned;"* and in the books of the Maccabees, "The era of the kingdom of the Greeks."

* This appellation does not refer to Alexander the Great, also styled *Secunder-dhul-Karnain*, or, "The doubled-horned Alexander." The question, therefore, has been asked, why Seleucus is denominated Dhul-Karnain, or, "The two-horned?" In eastern language and oriental sculpture, horns are used to denote kingly power, as in the books of Daniel and the Apocalypse they are emblematical of kings or potentates. This, therefore, would explain the reason why Seleucus was thus denominated; but Appian says, that he was so called from his great bodily strength; he being able to seize a bull, and stop him while in full career. Hence it is, that the statuaries represented him with two bull's horns on his head, which gave rise to the appellation.

Having recovered Babylon, Seleucus advanced into Media, and defeated and slew Nicanor, whom Antigonus had sent against him, and slew him with his own hand. After reducing that province, he marched through Persia, Hyrcania, Bactria, and other provinces west of the Indus, which he subjected to his sway. Meanwhile, B. C. 306, Antigonus and his son Demetrius, having assumed the regal title, Seleucus also styled himself king of Babylonia and Media. He then marched across the Indus to recover the Punjaub, out of which Sandrocotta had driven the Macedonians. In this enterprise he failed. Sandrocotta marched with a powerful and well-disciplined army to meet him, and Seleucus deemed it prudent to abandon the attempt of re-subjugating India, and to make proposals of peace. Accordingly, a treaty was concluded between them, by which Seleucus renounced all claims to the provinces of the Punjaub, conquered by Alexander, upon receiving 500 elephants from the Indian prince. See the History of the Macedonians.

But although Seleucus abandoned the conquest of the Punjaub, he had the sagacity to perceive that great advantages would be derived from establishing a commercial intercourse between his subjects and those of Sandrocotta—advantages that would more than counterbalance his loss of empire. Accordingly, he deputed the celebrated Megasthenes to the court of his Indian rival, who restored that commercial intercourse between Persia and India which had been almost destroyed by the Macedonian conquest. This was a judicious measure.

> ——— The band of commerce was designed
> To associate all the branches of mankind;
> And if a boundless plenty be the robe,
> Trade is the golden girdle of the globe.
> Wise to promote whatever end he means,
> God opens fruitful Nature's various scenes:
> Each climate needs what other climes produce,
> And offers something to the general use;
> No land but listens to the common call,
> And in return receives supplies from all.—COWPER.

On the return of Seleucus from his Indian expedition, he fought, in conjunction with his allies, the decisive battle of Ipsus, which annihilated the power of Antigonus, and secured his own. See the History of the Macedonians.

After the battle of Ipsus, Seleucus marched into Upper Syria, and having made himself master of that rich country, he built the new capital of his recently acquired empire, on the river

Orontes, and called it Antioch,* after the name of his father Antiochus, one of the chief captains of Philip of Macedonia. He also built or embellished many other cities, the most important of which, next to the capital, were the two Seleucias,† one on the Tigris, and the other on the Orontes. Sixteen of the cities which he founded were denominated Antioch, whereof one, situated in Pisidia, is mentioned Acts xiii. 14, and is called "Antioch of Pisidia," to distinguish it from the others of the same name, and particularly the Syrian capital. He built nine, also, which he called Seleucia, after his own name; six in honour of his mother Laodice;‡ and three in

* Antioch stood upon the left bank of the Orontes, about 300 miles to the north of Jerusalem, and twenty-three from the place where the Orontes discharges itself into the Mediterranean. It became one of the largest and most important cities in the world. It ranked third only after Rome and Alexandria, and from its magnificence it was denominated "The Queen of the East." In the time of Strabo, it consisted of four distinct quarters, each having a wall of its own, and the whole enclosed by a common wall. These quarters marked the successive additions which the city received from the time of Seleucus, the founder, to that of Antiochus Epiphanes. This may be taken to represent Antioch as it appeared at the time when the believers in Christ received first the name of Christians within its walls, and when it received repeated visits from the apostle Paul, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles.

Antioch was a city of importance till Chosroes the Persian took it, and nearly levelled it with the ground. It was rebuilt by Justinian, and again became of importance, continuing so till the age of the crusades. After it was taken by the crusaders, A. D. 1098, it became a Christian principality, under the European conquerors of Syria. The sultan Bebars took it from the Christians in 1269, and destroyed its churches. It afterwards passed under Turkish dominion, whose despotic sway has obscured its glory. At the present day, the Christians have not a single church in it: they assemble for prayer in a cavern dedicated to St. John. Antioch still, however, exists as a town of some importance, although grievously declined from its ancient importance.

† Seleucia on the Tigris became, soon after it was built, the metropolis of the east, whence Pliny, and Stephen of Byzantium state, that it was called Babylon. Seleucia on the Orontes, denominated Seleucia Pieria, to distinguish it from other cities of the same name, became also a great city. Strabo says that it was an impregnable city, and made free by Pompey, as appears from several medals by different emperors. Both these cities are now in ruins. Dust and rubbish are all that remain of their glory.

‡ These were all denominated Laodicea. The principal stood about five hours' sail of mount Casius. This city, under the name of Ramitha, was famous for a temple of Minerva. In the days of Christianity, it became a bishop's see, and it was still possessed by Christians when the crusaders invaded Syria. It was afterwards included in the empire of the celebrated Saladin, and it was subsequently conquered by Selim, and finally destroyed by an earthquake. At the present time, it is a miserable town, containing about 4000 inhabitants only.

honour of his first wife Apamea.* Hence Seleucus is esteemed as one of the greatest builders of antiquity.

The eighteen years of tranquillity enjoyed by Asia after the battle of Ipsus, says Heeren, prove that Seleucus was one of the few followers of Alexander who had any genius for the arts of peace. It was during these years that Seleucus was employed in building these cities, and extending his commerce. He also organized the home department of his empire into seventy satrapies. This was a wise measure in itself; but Alexander's maxim, "to give the satrapies to natives," was wholly forgotten by his followers, and the Seleucidæ were not long before they experienced the evil consequences of swerving from that practice. The empire was, indeed, preserved by Seleucus Nicator; but he paved the way for the dismemberment of his empire, by ceding Upper Asia, together with his consort Stratonice in incestuous union, to his son Antiochus.

Having spent all these years in tranquillity, Seleucus girded on his sword for war with Lysimachus of Thrace. This war was kindled by ancient jealousy, and fomented by family feuds. A battle took place at Curopedion, which cost Lysimachus his throne and his life: Asia Minor was annexed to the Syrian realm. B. C. 282.

Flushed with victory, Seleucus caused himself to be proclaimed king of Macedonia; but as he was marching into Europe, he was murdered by Ptolemy Ceraunus, B. C. 281, and with him the splendour of his kingdom vanished. See the History of the Macedonians, page 260.

The character of Seleucus is one of the most exalted of this dark age. Without mentioning his military skill, he distinguished himself by a love of justice and kindness, which endeared him to his subjects. He had a taste for polite literature, and was a great encourager of learning, taking great pleasure in the conversations of Erasistratus, and the celebrated Megasthenes. Having discovered the Athenian library

* The principal of these cities stood on the Orontes, and according to Strabo was a well-fortified city in a peninsula formed by the Orontes and a lake. At this place was a celebrated pagan temple, defended by its votaries against the Christians. It it now called Famich. The tract in which Antioch, Seleucia, Laodicea, and Apamea were found, was called Tetrapolis, or "The region of the four cities." The true name of the tract, however, was Seleucis, a name given it by Seleucus himself, in the spirit of the psalmist's declaration: "They call their lands after their own names." See Psa. xlix. 11. All the cities which Seleucus built in honour of his first wife were called Apamea.

which Xerxes had brought into Persia, he sent it back to Athens. By all ancient writers his name is mentioned with veneration. Plutarch tells us, that he used to say: "If men knew what trouble attends only the reading and writing of letters," (which in those days was deemed the indispensable duty of a king,) "no one would accept of a crown, though cast at his feet, or think it worth taking off the ground." The cares of royalty are, doubtless, more than a counterbalance for all the honours that wait upon its train.

ANTIOCHUS SOTER.

Seleucus was succeeded in his kingdom by Antiochus Soter, who had for some time governed the provinces in Upper Asia.

The first step which Antiochus took, was to secure the eastern provinces where he resided, which he accomplished. After this, he endeavoured to reduce the western provinces. He sent Patrocles, one of his generals, over Mount Taurus, at the head of a powerful army, for this purpose, into Asia Minor. On his arrival, Patrocles marched against Heraclea in Pontus, with the design to render himself master of its rich territory. The Heracleans had formerly entered into an alliance with Mithridates of Pontus, and the cities of Byzantium and Chalcedon, against Seleucus; but they averted the storm of war by entering into a treaty with the general of Antiochus. Patrocles now led his army into Bithynia, where he committed great devastations; but the Bithynians having drawn him into an ambush, slew him, and destroyed his army.

After the death of Sosthenes, (who defeated the Gauls, and governed the Macedonians like a king, though he never assumed the crown,) Antiochus of Syria, and Antigonus Gonatus, son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, formed pretensions to the throne of Macedonia, which their fathers had obtained successively. Antigonus first ascended the throne; but each of them raised armies and contracted alliances, the one to support himself in his new conquests, and the other to dispossess him. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, having espoused the party of Antigonus, Antiochus was unwilling to leave so powerful an enemy in the rear. Instead, therefore, of crossing the Hellespont, he suddenly poured his troops into Bithynia, which then became the theatre of the war. The forces were so equal, that neither party would presume to

attack the other, and they continued for some time in a state of inaction. In the mean time, a treaty was concerted, in consequence of which Antigonus espoused Phila, the daughter of Stratonice and Seleucus, and Antiochus resigned to him his pretensions to the throne of Macedonia. B. C. 275.

Having thus disengaged himself from this war, Antiochus marched against the Gauls, who, after settling in the land granted them by Nicomedes, were continually making incursions into the surrounding territories. Antiochus defeated these Gauls with great slaughter, and delivered the country from their oppression, which acquired him the title of Soter, signifying a saviour, or deliverer.

Soon after his conquest of the Gauls, hearing of the death of Philetærus, prince of Pergamus, Antiochus invaded his territories, with a view of annexing them to his own dominions. His design was defeated. Eumenes, nephew of the deceased monarch, raised a considerable army, encountered Antiochus near Sardis, and overthrew him; thereby securing himself in the possession of the throne of Pergamus, and enlarging his dominions with new acquisitions.

After this defeat, Antiochus returned to Antioch, where he put to death one of his sons, for raising disturbances in his absence, and at the same time proclaimed the other, also named Antiochus, king of Syria. Soon after this he died, leaving his surviving son in the possession of his dominions.

ANTIOCHUS THEOS.

The first act of this prince was to deliver the Milesians from the tyranny of Timarchus, governor of Caria under Ptolemy Philadelphus, who had revolted from his sovereign, and chosen Miletus for the seat of his residence. Antiochus defeated and slew Timarchus, in acknowledgment for which they rendered him divine honours, and impiously conferred upon him the title of *Theos*, or God; by which he is distinguished from the other kings of Syria bearing the name of Antiochus.

In the beginning of the reign of Antiochus, the famous Chaldean historian Berosus flourished, who dedicated his history to him. Pliny says, that his history contained astronomical observations for 480 years; from the accession of Antiochus, B. C. 261, reaching back to B. C. 741, shortly after the commencement of the Nabonassarean era. Dr. Hales thinks it probable that

Ptolemy of Alexandria constructed his scientific Canon by the help of these observations.

In the third year of the reign of Antiochus, a long and fearful war commenced between him and Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, and at the same time great commotions took place in the eastern provinces of the empire, which he had no leisure to suppress. Arsaces revolted in Parthia, Theodotus in Bactria, and the northern provinces, Pontus, Bithynia, etc., following their example, expelled the Macedonians, and chose governors of their own. In order to quell these insurrections, Antiochus deemed it necessary to make peace with the king of Egypt. A treaty was concluded between them, whereby Antiochus married Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy, divorcing his former wife Laodice, and excluding her children from the succession. When Ptolemy died, Antiochus restored the divorced queen to her honours; but she could not forget her injuries, nor conquer her dread of being subject to the same ill treatment. Under these feelings, she poisoned her husband, and procured the murder of Berenice and her son. B. C. 247. See the History of the Egyptians.

SELEUCUS CALLINICUS.

The crime of Laodice, which raised this prince, her son, to the throne, involved him in a long and calamitous war with Ptolemy Euergetes, king of Egypt, by which he was stripped of all Syria and Cilicia, and the country as far as Babylon and the river Tigris. To add to the calamity, Eumenes of Pergamus took advantage of the Egyptian war to enlarge his dominions at the expense of Seleucus. His own brother Hierax, also, presuming upon his general unpopularity, and aided by a body of Gauls, attempted to usurp the throne. The rebellion was at first successful; but the ravages of the Gauls so incensed the subjects of Seleucus, that they rose as one body to support him, and thus strengthened, he engaged the army of the rebels in Babylonia. The battle was fierce and obstinate; but the Gauls were finally defeated, and almost annihilated. Hierax fled to Egypt, but Euergetes having recently made peace with Seleucus Callinicus, threw the fugitive into prison, where he languished thirteen years; escaping only to perish by the hands of robbers in the Syrian desert. See the History of the Egyptians.

On the defeat of his brother, Seleucus attempted to recover

the eastern provinces that had revolted. He turned his arms against the Parthians, but he was defeated in a decisive battle by Arsaces, and taken prisoner, in the seventeenth year of his reign, B. C. 229, and died in captivity two years afterwards.

It is from the above epoch that the Parthians reckoned the recovery of their liberty; though some date the commencement of the Parthian empire from the year of their revolt, B. C. 251, in the reign of Antiochus Theos.

SELEUCUS CERAUNUS.

Seleucus, surnamed Ceraunus, "the thunderbolt," succeeded his father; but his reign was very brief. He was on the point of taking the field against Attalus, king of Pergamus, when he was removed by poison.

On the death of Seleucus Ceraunus, the kingdom of the Seleucidæ would have been at an end, had not Achæus, son of Andromachus, his mother's brother, vigorously secured the inheritance for Antiochus, surnamed the Great, the younger brother of the deceased monarch, who had been for some time satrap of Babylon.

ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT.

The long reign of Antiochus the Great is not only the most eventful in Syrian history, but it likewise marks an epoch by the relations commencing between Syria and Rome. B. C. 224.

In the early part of his reign, Antiochus was brought into great danger by the intrigues of his prime minister Hermias, a Carian. Deceived by his artifices, Antiochus quarrelled with his benefactor Achæus, and set Molon and Alexander, brothers of Hermias, over the important provinces of Media and Persia. These men were scarcely settled in their provinces, when they raised the standard of revolt. Antiochus sent his generals against them, but they were defeated, and the rebels made themselves masters of all Babylonia and Mesopotamia. Antiochus now took the field in person, contrary to the advice of his minister Hermias. When the armies were about to engage, however, the rebel forces threw down their arms simultaneously, and submitted themselves to their youthful sovereign. On this defection of their army, Molon and Alexander committed suicide, and Hermias soon after perished on the scaffold.

While Antiochus was thus engaged in the remote east, Achæus, whom he had forced into revolt, had strengthened himself in Asia Minor. At the same time, the Egyptian monarch, Ptolemy Philopater, was becoming formidable on the southern frontiers of Syria. Antiochus gained possession of Cœlo-Syria by the treachery of Theodotus, its governor; but he was soon after defeated by Ptolemy at the battle of Raphia, near Gaza, and forced to purchase peace by the cession of the provinces of Cœlo-Syria and Palestine, which was the subject of their contest. B. C. 217. See the History of the Egyptians.

Having thus concluded a peace with Ptolemy, Antiochus, in conjunction with Attalus, king of Pergamus, made war in Asia Minor against Achæus. Their united forces were so powerful, that Achæus was compelled to shut himself up in the citadel of Sardis, where he was closely besieged by the confederate princes. Achæus held out for more than a year, during which time frequent battles were fought under the walls, with great loss of life on both sides. At length, however, the city was taken by a stratagem of Ligoras, one of the generals of Antiochus, and Achæus retired into the castle, where he defended himself with great bravery till he was delivered up to Antiochus by two crafty Cretans, who had been sent by Ptolemy Philopater to rescue him from peril. Achæus was ungratefully put to death by Antiochus, who thereby recovered his dominions in Asia Minor. B. C. 216.

Freed from the dangers of this war, Antiochus turned his thoughts to Upper Asia, where several provinces had shaken off the Syrian yoke.

As the Parthians under Arsaces II. had lately seized on Media, the first operations of Antiochus were upon that province. On the approach of the enemy, Arsaces commanded all the fountains and wells in the desert through which they were to pass to be stopped up; but Antiochus having sent several parties of horse to secure them, marched onward unimpeded, and entering Media, drove Arsaces from thence, and spent the remainder of the year in settling the internal affairs of the province upon their ancient basis, and in providing for the farther operations of the war. B. C. 215.

Early next spring, Antiochus marched into Parthia, where success still attended his movements. Arsaces was forced to retire into Hyrcania, where he conceived he should be able to secure himself behind the mountains which parted that country from Parthia. Accordingly, Arsaces posted soldiers

in all the passes through which the Syrian army was to march, in order to obstruct their progress. But Antiochus took the field as soon as the season would permit, advanced to the passes, and dividing his army into as many bodies as the manœuvre of Arsaces required, he soon forced them all. Antiochus then assembled his army again in the plains, and with all his forces invested Syringis, the capital of Hyrcania, which quickly surrendered at discretion.

In the mean time, Arsaces, having collected a large army, took the field. With this force he arrested the progress of Antiochus. After many conflicts, a treaty was concluded, by which it was agreed that Arsaces should hold the provinces of Parthia and Hyrcania, on the condition of assisting Antiochus to recover the rest. B. C. 214.

Peace being concluded with Arsaces, the Syrian monarch turned his arms against Euthydemus, king of Bactria. This country had become a kingdom by revolt, about the same time as Parthia. Theodotus was its founder, and he had left it to a son of the same name; but this son had been vanquished and driven from his throne by Euthydemus, against whom Antiochus now made war. Euthydemus was a man of considerable courage and prudence, and he maintained a long war against Antiochus, who carried it on with great vigour and extraordinary courage. At length, however, finding that he wasted his army without gaining any decisive advantage by the struggle, Antiochus admitted ambassadors from Euthydemus to treat concerning peace. A treaty was concluded between the combatants, by which Euthydemus gave the Syrian monarch all his elephants, and Antiochus recognised the independence of the Bactrian monarch. These stipulations, with others, were confirmed by the usual oaths, and by the marriage of Demetrius, the son of the Bactrian monarch, with the daughter of Antiochus.

The Syrian and the Bactrian monarchs some time after joined their forces, and marched into Northern India, where Antiochus renewed his alliance, which was chiefly of a commercial nature, with Sophagasenus, king of that country. This expedition probably extended far up the country, and was attended with important consequences to Bactriana. B. C. 206.

On his return from India, Antiochus marched into Arachosia, Drangiana, and Carmania, settling in all these countries due order and discipline. He passed the winter in Carmania, and thence returned by Persia, Babylonia, and Mesopotamia,

to Antioch, after having spent about seven years in this expedition. B. C. 205.

The boldness of the movements of Antiochus, and the wisdom of his conduct during this long war, gained for him the reputation of a wise and valiant prince, so that his name was celebrated in Europe and Asia.

Soon after the return of Antiochus, the king of Egypt, Ptolemy Philopater, died, and left his throne to Ptolemy Epiphanes, his son, who was only five years of age. The cupidity and ambition of Antiochus led him to form an alliance with Philip of Macedonia, in order to take possession of the throne of Egypt, contrary to the dictates of humanity and justice. Their unhallowed design was frustrated by the Egyptians calling in the aid of the Romans, and by the interference of Attalus, king of Pergamus, with that of the Rhodians. With the conquest of Cœlo-Syria and Palestine, the successes of Antiochus, therefore, ceased in this quarter. See the History of the Egyptians.

Thus checked, Antiochus revived the claims of his family on the northern states of Europe and Asia. As he could not succeed in this design unless he could prevent the Egyptians from molesting him in his new conquests, while he was at a distance from them, he sent Eucles, the Rhodian, to Alexandria, with proposals of marriage between his daughter Cleopatra and Ptolemy, which was to be consummated as soon as they were of age, promising to give up the conquered provinces as a dowry on the day of the nuptials. This proposal was accepted, and the treaty concluded and ratified; upon which the Egyptians, relying on his promises, suffered him to war unmolested.

Having thus secured peace in his rear, early in the spring of B. C. 198, Antiochus sent his two sons, Arduas and Mithridates, before him, with his land forces, to Sardis, while he himself set sail with a fleet, consisting of 100 large ships of war, and 200 smaller vessels of different descriptions. He intended first to reduce the cities of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, and then advance to the aid of his old friend, Philip of Macedonia, then engaged in his unsuccessful war with the Romans.

As Antiochus sailed along the coasts of these rugged countries, many of their maritime cities voluntarily submitted to his sway. Among these may be enumerated Soli, the modern Mezetlu; Zephyrium, which lay in Cilicia Issensis, at the small projection of the coast which exists at the mouth of

the river of Mersin; Aphrodisias, the promontory and the city Veneris of Pliny, which appears to have stood on the coast between Celenderis and Cape Sarpedon, on that part of it which lay nearest to Cyprus, and nearly north of Cape Aulion in that island; and Corica, probably the same as Corycus, now called Korghos, which lay between the rivers Calycadnus and Lamos, to the east of the former and west of the latter. From this latter city, Antiochus doubled the promontory Anemurium, which is the most southern projection of the Asiatic Peninsula, and made himself master of the city of Selinus. Upon the news of his approach, all the cities in the vicinity sent deputies to him owning his authority, and declaring their readiness to receive his troops within their walls. Coracesium, the modern Alaia, was the only city on that coast which dared to sustain a siege. While Antiochus was employed before this place, the Rhodians, unterrified by his formidable power, sent an embassy to him, requiring him not to extend his conquests farther, and to withdraw his troops out of Cilicia, else they should be compelled to arrest his progress by force of arms. Antiochus, accustomed to command others, was highly incensed at this bold message from a minor insular state. He, however, so commanded his temper as not to express any great resentment, and only answered, that he desired not to quarrel with the Rhodians, but to keep up a good understanding with them, and would take care to renew the ancient treaties his ancestors had made with Rhodes. He then sent ambassadors to Rhodes, but in the mean time continued the siege of Coracesium, which was finally taken by storm.

Having taken Coracesium, the sea coast of Pamphylia and Lycia underwent the same vicissitude, both submitting to Antiochus. His fleet next reduced Æolis and Ionia; but Caunus, Myndus, Halicarnassus, and the island of Samos, were preserved by the power of the Rhodians, who supplied them with men and provisions. Having thus reduced most of the maritime cities of Asia Minor, he came to Ephesus, where he wintered, after previously reducing it, and where he concerted such schemes with his officers as seemed best adapted for the entire conquest of those provinces which had formerly been annexed to the Syrian empire.

Smyrna, Lampsacus, and other Greek cities of Asia, which at that time enjoyed their liberty, finding that Antiochus designed to reduce them all to their ancient condition under the sway of the Seleucidæ, confederated together to oppose him.

Not being able, however, to resist so powerful an enemy by their own strength, they implored the protection of the Romans, which was readily granted. The Romans saw that it was their interest to check the progress of Antiochus towards the west; and they saw, also, how fatal the consequences would be, should they suffer him to extend his power by settling on the coast of Asia, according to the plan he had laid down. They, therefore, gladly embraced the opportunity thus afforded them of opposing Antiochus, and they immediately sent an embassy to him.

Before the Roman ambassadors arrived, Antiochus had sent two detachments from his army to besiege Smyrna and Lampsacus, and had crossed the Hellespont with the rest, and seized all the Thracian Chersonesus. The ambassadors followed him, and found him busied in restoring Lysimachia, which he designed to make the capital of a great kingdom under his second son, Seleucus. They came up with him at Selymbria, a city of Thrace, and they were attended by some deputies from the Greek cities. Antiochus received them graciously, and gave them a hospitable entertainment; but when they proceeded to business, the aspect of affairs was changed. L. Cornelius, who spoke on this occasion, required Antiochus to restore Ptolemy the several cities, in Asia, which he had taken from him during his minority; to evacuate all those which had been possessed by Philip; and not to molest such of the Grecian cities of Asia as enjoyed their liberty. He added, that the Romans were surprised at Antiochus, for crossing into Europe with such numerous armies, and so powerful a fleet; and for rebuilding Lysimachia, an undertaking in which he could have no other view but to invade them.

In reply to all this, Antiochus said that Ptolemy should have full satisfaction, when his marriage should be solemnized; and that with regard to such Grecian cities as desired to retain their liberties, it was from him, and not from the Romans, they were to receive it. With respect to Lysimachia, he declared that he rebuilt it with a design of making it the residence of Seleucus, his son; that Thrace and the Chersonesus, which was part of it, belonged to him; that they had been conquered by Seleucus Nicator, one of his ancestors, and that he came thither as into his own possessions. As to Asia, and the cities he had taken there from Philip, he added, that he knew not what right the Romans could have to them; and therefore he desired them to interfere no further in the affairs of Asia, than he did with those of Italy.

After this, the Romans desired that the ambassadors of Smyrna and Lampsacus might be called in, which desire was granted. But it had no good effect. These ambassadors, indeed, spoke with so much freedom, that Antiochus, enraged thereat, exclaimed, that the Romans had no business to judge of his affairs; upon which the assembly broke up, every thing portending a rupture.

During these negociations, a report was promulgated that Ptolemy Epiphanes was dead. Antiochus, on hearing this report, conceived himself already master of Egypt, and he accordingly went on board his fleet to take possession of the presumed vacant throne; leaving his son Seleucus at Lysimachia, with the army, to complete the projects he had formed in Europe. He first landed at Ephesus, where he caused all his ships in that port to join his fleet, in order to sail with him for Egypt. On his arrival at Patara, in Lycia, however, advice was brought that the report which was spread concerning the death of Ptolemy was untrue. Thus disappointed in his views on Egypt, Antiochus changed his course, and sailed for the island of Cyprus, intending to conquer it; but when he came near the mouth of the Sarus, a storm arose which sunk many of his ships, destroyed a great number of his men, and frustrated all his measures. Antiochus escaped with the remnant of his fleet into the harbour of Seleucia Tracheiotis, about twelve miles from the sea, on the river Calycadnus. Antiochus re-fitted his ships in this harbour, and passed the winter at Antioch, while this work was being carried forward.

The circumstance which occasioned the report of the death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, was the conspiracy formed against the life of that prince by Scopas the Ætolian. See the history of the Egyptians.

Early the next spring, B. C. 195, Antiochus departed from Antioch on his return to Ephesus. He had scarcely proceeded on his journey, when Hannibal arrived there in order to claim his protection. After staying a few days at Antioch, that he might be present at the festival celebrated near Daphne, in honour of Apollo and Diana, Hannibal set sail for Ephesus, where he found Antiochus yet wavering between peace and war with Rome. The presence of Hannibal, that firebrand of Carthage, who had sworn on the altar eternal enmity to Rome, soon determined the matter. Antiochus did not doubt but that he should, with the counsel and assistance of one who had made Rome tremble, be able to accomplish all his designs. Accordingly, dreaming of conquests and

victories, war was secretly resolved upon, and two years were employed in making preparations for the struggle.

In the mean time, Antiochus, having received intelligence that Flaminius, who was at the head of the Roman troops in Greece, was making preparations for a new war, and apprehending that he might fall upon his son Seleucus, who was still engaged in rebuilding Lysimachia, deemed it expedient to send deputies to Flaminius to propose an alliance with Rome. By this embassy Antiochus designed only to gain time, and discover the movements of the Romans. Flaminius answered the envoys, that his power was expired since the departure of the ten commissioners, who had been sent to settle the affairs of Greece and Macedonia; and that, therefore, if Antiochus desired to treat with the republic, he must send to Rome. Not having yet made the necessary preparations for war, Antiochus accordingly directed Menippus, Hegesinax, and Lysias, to depart immediately, and desire of the Roman senate, in his name, the friendship and alliance of the republic. On their arrival, they were received uncourteously; the proposals they made were negatived by the major part of the senators; and they were finally insulted by the senate's referring them to the ten commissioners who had been formerly sent into Macedonia to conclude a peace with Philip, and settle the affairs of Greece. Flaminius, who was then at Rome, was at the head of this commission, which circumstance, the ambassadors saw plainly, was adverse to their cause.

Having appeared before this new court, Menippus expressed himself thus: "Why are delays made, and indirect methods taken to give a plain answer? Our proposal contains no difficulty; we desire the friendship and alliance of the Roman republic. We do not come to treat with you as a conquered people with their conqueror, or as nations at war, to make peace. Antiochus and the Romans are neither upon the footing of enemies, nor of conquerors. Why then do you pretend to dictate law to us? What right have you to dispose of the cities of Asia and Europe? What authority to direct us to withdraw our garrisons from some places, and not to seize others? You may, indeed, treat Philip in this manner, but the law of nations gives you no right to assume such an authority over Antiochus."

Flaminius answered Menippus in the following imperious terms: "Since you insist upon a direct answer, I will give it: Antiochus shall not be our friend and ally, but upon two con-

ditions. The first is, that he keep within the bounds of Asia; the second, that if he comes into Europe, he shall not take it amiss that the Romans protect the Greek cities in Asia, and enter into an alliance with them."

On hearing these words, Hegesinax exclaimed: "What injustice! Your design is plainly to dispossess Antiochus of the dominions of his ancestors. The Chersonesus and Thrace belonged to his great-grandfather, whose right has descended to him. The possession which he has recently taken of his inheritance, was no more than rescuing it out of the hands of usurpers. Has Rome so good a title to the Greek cities in Europe and Asia? By what title do you pretend to justify your conquest of them? Antiochus desires, indeed, your friendship, but in an honourable way; he is not fond of purchasing it thus dearly."

To this solid reasoning Flaminius could give no other answer, than, that Rome was determined to pursue the resolution she had taken of procuring the liberty of Greece. "Æolis and Ionia," said he, "are inhabited by colonies from Greece, and we have formed a design of setting all the Greeks at liberty. Those of Europe are already freed from the tyranny of Philip, and it now remains for us to protect those of Asia against the power of Antiochus: what can be more humane or commendable?"

The final answer of the ten commissioners was this: "Take your choice; either let Antiochus forbear setting a foot in Europe, or prepare to meet our troops in Asia." The ambassadors declared, that Antiochus would not enter into an alliance with Rome upon such terms, and that he would prefer a war to the loss of his rights in Europe and Asia.

War, therefore, was inevitable, though not yet proclaimed, between the Syrian monarch and Rome. As might be expected, this feeling of hostility was fomented by Hannibal. He inspired Antiochus with the hatred he himself bore to that imperious republic, and made an attempt to engage his own nation in his cause. See the History of the Carthaginians.

In the mean time, Antiochus continued his preparations for the event. In order to strengthen himself by new alliances, he went to Raphia, and there married his daughter to Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, according to previous contract. On his return to Antioch, he married Antiochis, his second daughter, to Ariarthes, king of Cappadocia. He designed the third for Eumenes, king of Pergamus, with the view of

breaking off his alliance with Rome; but Eumenes declined the proferred honour, conceiving it safer to prefer the alliance of the Romans to that of Antiochus, in which he was justified by the event.

Having solemnized these marriages, Antiochus returned into Asia, and wintered at Ephesus. From thence, early in the spring, B. C. 192, he marched against the Pisidians, and conquered all the country round Selga, a city on the banks of the river Cestrius, at the foot of the range dividing Pamphylia from Pisidia. He also took Side, the ruins of which are now to be seen on the south-east of Aspendus, on the Eurymedon, between a small nameless river and the Melas, which lies to the east of Side.

The conquests of Antiochus in Pisidia* drew upon him the eyes of the Romans. Hearing of his progress, and being informed by their friends in Asia, that most of the eastern princes were ready to declare for Antiochus, in order to avert the consequences, they sent three ambassadors to him, to make further proposals. These ambassadors, P. Sulpicius, P. Villius, and P. Ælius, advanced to Apamea, in Phrygia, with a design to wait there for Antiochus, who, being informed of their arrival, went thither to hold conference with them. The Romans still required Antiochus to confine himself to Asia, and to renounce all his rights in Europe, especially to Thrace and the Chersonesus. This was the subject of a debate; but it was broken off by the news of the death of Antiochus, son of the monarch of Syria, a young prince of great merit. Antiochus returned to Ephesus to lament his loss, leaving the proposals of the Roman ambassadors unanswered.

It was on his return to Ephesus, that Antiochus first exhibited signs of coldness towards Hannibal, which finally led to his destruction. See the History of the Carthaginians.

On his return to Ephesus, Antiochus spent his whole time in private conferences with Minio, his confidant. This Minio was a courtier, who sought only to please the monarch, and finding that his wish was to humble Rome, he persuaded him into the belief that it would be easily accomplished. Big with this expectation, Minio advised the king to send for the Roman ambassadors, who were then at Pergamus, and offered

* Pisidia was a large province of Asia Minor, north of Mount Taurus, by which it was separated from the maritime province of Pamphylia, on the south, and by the same ridge from Phrygia on the west and north-west, and by a parallel range of Taurus on the north and north-east, which separated it from Isauria.

to answer them in his name. Antiochus consented to this ill-judged policy. The ambassadors were sent for, and when they arrived, Minio, puffed up with his own importance, received them haughtily. What he chiefly urged in behalf of his master was, that he had as sound a right to the countries possessed by the Eastern Greeks, whom he or his ancestors had conquered, as the Romans had to those of the Western Greeks in Italy and Sicily.

Sulpicius answered Minio, by asserting, that Rome, ever since she conquered those cities had held them without interruption from the time of their subjugation; whereas the Greek countries claimed by Antiochus, though formerly conquered by his ancestors, had undergone, since that time, many vicissitudes.

To this specious reasoning, Minio replied, by offering to give up some Greek cities in Asia; to maintain the liberty of Rhodes, Byzantium, and Cyzicus; and to permit these free states to enter into an alliance with Rome. The ambassadors, however, still insisted that Ionia and Æolis should partake of the common liberty of Greece, which Antiochus opposed, and they returned to Italy, leaving matters in the same situation they had found them.

On the departure of the Roman ambassadors, Antiochus called a council of war, from which Hannibal was excluded, to consider the propriety of a war with Rome. The council knew the monarch's inclination, and therefore declared for war, that being the surest way of obtaining his favour. Alexander of Acarnania, who had formerly served Philip, assured Antiochus that the Macedonians would join him as soon as he landed in Greece; and that as the Ætolians, and Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, had taken up arms, and were ready to declare for him, success was certain. From that moment, therefore, Antiochus resolved to declare war with the Romans. On the other hand, when the ambassadors returned home, Rome declared war against Antiochus.

Nothing now retained Antiochus in Asia but an expedition which he had undertaken against the cities of Smyrna, Lampsacus, and Alexandria in Troas, which he thought dangerous to leave behind him unreduced. While he was thus employed, however, the Ætolians sent ambassadors to him, inviting him over into Greece. This was sufficient. Antiochus relinquished his designs upon these cities, and hastened into Europe, B. C. 192.

Antiochus landed at Pteleum in Phthiotis, and he marched

from thence to Demetrius. Here the principal Ætolians waited upon him, and invited him to Lamia, where a general assembly was convened to receive him. Being introduced to the diet, Antiochus made an harangue, wherein he told them, that his eagerness to comply with their request had induced him to leave Asia before he had made the necessary preparations for war; that his zeal for their welfare had made him unmindful of his own dignity; that their expectations should be realized next spring; and that as soon as the seas were passable, they should see Greece covered with armies, and their harbours filled with fleets. He concluded his harangue with these words: "I will spare neither fatigue nor expense: I will expose my person to the greatest dangers, to re-establish you in the enjoyment of your liberties. Rome has enslaved you; but Syria offers you a deliverer: let us, then, share the troubles between us; do you furnish provisions, and I will supply men and arms."

The effect which this speech had upon the restless and turbulent Ætolians was what he wished. Antiochus was honoured with the title of generalissimo, or commander-in-chief of all the Greek armies against Rome. At the same time, a council of thirty persons was appointed, to whom he might have recourse on all affairs of moment.

The first measures of Antiochus and this council were, to endeavour to persuade the rest of the Greeks to make common cause with them and Antiochus, against the Romans. They strained every nerve to accomplish this; but their efforts were fruitless. A great many resolved to stand neutral, and wait the issue of the contest, whilst the Achæans and others declared for the Romans. The Eleans, Epirots, Bœotians, and Athamanians, declared for Antiochus; but the Epirots were at a distance, and the Athamanians and Eleans were mere petty cantons, and therefore could render him but little service. All the men the Ætolians could raise to aid Antiochus amounted only to 40 0, most of whom were their own friends and vassals. These, with the Syrian troops, finally amounted to 14,500 men; an inadequate force to struggle with the legions of Rome when they poured them into Greece.

The first measure of Antiochus, after receiving this reinforcement, was to lay siege to Pheræ, which, after a vigorous resistance, surrendered. From Pheræ, he advanced to Larissa; and while he was deliberating whether he should besiege this city, news was brought him that a body of Ro-

mans under Claudius, had arrived at Gonni, a city about twenty miles from Larissa. Antiochus believing, from the camp fires, that the Romans were more numerous than they really were, hastily returned to Chalcis.

As Capua had been fatal to Hannibal by its seductive pleasures, so Chalcis was fatal to Antiochus. Though he was advanced in years, he suffered himself to be shamefully captivated by the charms of a fair Chalcidian, whom he married. Rome, Greece, and Syria, were all forgotten, and neither the defence of his allies, nor the preservation of the glory he had acquired, were regarded. His conduct became a standing topic of raillery in all conversations; his allies complained; the soldiers mutinied; and the Ætolians expressed great uneasiness. Antiochus, however, insensible to everything but pleasure, spent the winter in feasting and rejoicings, and his evil example infected the officers, and even the common soldiers of the Syrian army: all were enervated by luxury and lasciviousness.

The poet's apostrophe to pleasure forms a powerful comment upon this incident in ancient history:—

> Bewitching syren! golden rottenness!
> Thou hast with cunning artifice displayed
> The' enamelled outside, and the honied verge
> Of the fair cup, where deadly poison lurks.
> Within, a thousand sorrows dance thee round;
> And, like a shell, pain circles thee without.
> Grief is the shadow waiting on thy steps,
> Which, as thy joys 'gin towards their west decline,
> Doth to a giant's spreading form extend
> Thy dwarfish stature. Thou thyself art pain,
> Greedy, intense desire; and the keen edge
> Of thy fierce appetite oft strangles thee,
> And cuts thy slender thread; but still the terror
> And apprehension of thy hasty end
> Mingles with gall thy most refined sweets.
> Yet thy Circean charms transform the world.
> Captains that have resisted war and death,
> Nations that over fortune have triumphed,
> Are by thy magic made effeminate;
> Empires, that know no limit but the poles,
> Have in thy wanton lap melted away.—CAREW

While Antiochus was thus lost in pleasures, the Romans kept an eagle eye over him. They sent an army of 20,000 foot and 2000 horse, with fifteen elephants, under the command of A. Acilius Glabrio, to oppose his progress. In conjunction with the Macedonian monarch, the Roman con-

sul soon captured Pellinæa, and Limnæa, cities of Thessaly. The Romans and Macedonians then parted, to spread the terror of their arms in different quarters. The king made himself master of Athamania, while the consul reduced Thessaly.

Alarmed at the progress of the Romans, Antiochus at length aroused from his lethargy. He hastily collected his forces, and seized the pass of Thermopylæ, the natural fortifications of which place he strengthened with trenches and ramparts. He also detached 2000 Ætolians to seize the summits of mount Œta, which were nearest his camp, lest the enemy should pass over them into Achaia. But all his efforts were unavailing. While the consul engaged Antiochus in his entrenchments, Cato obliged the Ætolians to abandon their post on the mountains, and the pass was taken.

On being thus defeated at the pass of Thermopylæ, the Syrian monarch first fled to Elatia, and then to Chalcis, whence he embarked with his new queen for Asia, and retired to Ephesus. B. C. 191.

Soon after his return, Antiochus caused a fleet to be equipped, in which he set sail for the Thracian Chersonesus, where he fortified Lysimachia, Sestus, and Abydos, and the other cities in that neighbourhood, to prevent the Romans from crossing the Hellespont into Asia.

While these precautionary measures were advancing, Polyxenidas, who was then at Ephesus, having received advice that the Roman fleet had appeared off Delos, despatched a letter to acquaint Antiochus therewith. Upon receiving this letter, Antiochus returned to Ephesus, and, in a council of war which he summoned, it was resolved that Polyxenidas, the Syrian admiral, should sail out in search of the Roman fleet, and venture an engagement. This expedition proved unfortunate. Meeting the Roman fleet near Cyssus,* the modern Chisme, a battle was fought, which resulted in the ruin of the fleet of Antiochus. Livius, the Roman admiral, took thirty of his ships, after having sunk ten in the engagement, while the Romans lost but one ship, which was taken at the commencement of the battle. Polyxenidas fled to

* This city was about ten miles north-west of the Corycian promontory, and was the sea-port of Erythræ, one of the twelve Ionian cities, in the peninsula of the Clazomenæ, at the foot of mount Mimas, over against the island of Chios, the modern Scio. Its representative, Chisme, is rendered famous in modern times for the destruction of the Turkish fleet by five ships sent into the harbour under Elphinstone, the Russian naval commander, in 1770.

Ephesus, whither Livius pursued him; but finding that he would not venture another engagement, he sent his coadjutor, Eumenes, and the Rhodians home, and retired himself to Canæ*, a seaport in Æolis.

In the mean time, Antiochus was at Magnesia, assembling his land forces. When news was brought that his fleet had been defeated, he hastened to the sea-coast, and applied himself to the fitting out of a new fleet, to dispute the empire of those seas. He refitted those which had escaped, built others, and sent Hannibal into Syria to bring the Syrian and Phenician fleets for their reinforcement. He also ordered his son Seleucus to watch the Roman fleet in Æolis, and keep that country in awe with one part of his army; while he put the rest into winter quarters, in the neighbouring towns of Phrygia.

In the ensuing spring, B. C. 190, the Rhodian fleet, being rejoined by the Rhodians under Eumenes, sailed from Canæ, to secure the straits of the Hellespont, and a safe passage for the Roman army. With this view, he made himself master of Sestos on the European side, and invested Abydos on the Asiatic side of the strait.

While thus employed, the Rhodian fleet in the harbour of Samos was attacked unexpectedly and destroyed, by the Syrian admiral, Polyxenidas. The stratagem by which this was effected was the following:—The Rhodians were the most zealous adherents to the Romans, being indebted to them for the possession of Stratonice, and the best port of Caria. They therefore sent Pausistratus, their admiral, with thirty ships, to join Livius and Eumenes against Antiochus. Polyxenidas was himself a Rhodian; but having been banished Rhodes, had entered into the Syrian service. Pausistratus had advanced with the Rhodian fleet as far as the isle of Samos, when he received an express from Polyxenidas, telling him, that as he was now master of the Syrian fleet, it was in his power to do Pausistratus and his country signal service, provided Pausistratus would engage, in the name of his republic, to restore him to his native country and his forfeited honours. Pausistratus desired Polyxenidas to explain himself more fully, and promised secrecy. Polyxenidas upon

* Canæ, now Coloni, was a city at the promontory of the same name, at the south entrance of the gulf of Pergamus and Adramyttium, in 39° north latitude; ten geographical miles south-west of Elea, the port of Pergamus, and twenty-five south-west of the latter, near the mouth of the Caicus, or the Mysius river.

this sent a second express, informing Pausistratus that he would deliver up the fleet of Antiochus, if he would comply with his proposition. This proposal appeared of too much importance to be rejected, and in order to give Polyxenidas time to follow him, Pausistratus retired with his squadron to Panormus, a Samian port, and waited there to see the issue of the affair. From thence he sent an express to Polyxenidas, promising compliance with his demands; and Polyxenidas, in reply, sent him a letter in his own hand writing, engaging to deliver up the Syrian fleet upon this open declaration.

All the misgivings of Pausistratus now vanished. He conceived that he had it in his power to ruin Polyxenidas, and he could not believe that a wise man would make such an engagement without designing to fulfil it. Nothing, therefore, now remained, but to take the proper means to accomplish what was intended. For this purpose, Polyxenidas engaged to cause all duty to be neglected on board the Syrian fleet; to separate the officers and men under several pretences; and thus expose them to be captured without any difficulty. This method pleased Pausistratus, who affected the same negligence which he was assured he would find in the Syrian fleet, and quietly waited for notice when he should attack them in the port of Ephesus. In the mean time, Polyxenidas, in order to conceal his designs, sent away some of his galleys, ordered the harbour to be cleansed, and seemed in no haste to put to sea.

Pausistratus now waited for the signal for his advance to Ephesus. He waited in vain. Having succeeded in lulling the suspicions of his adversary, Polyxenidas sailed from Ephesus with seventy ships of war, steering his coast to Pygela, a city on the coast of Ionia. Before he weighed anchor, he ordered Nicander to make a descent on the isle of Samos, with a squadron of privateers, and to conceal his men there till the rest of the fleet arrived. From Pygela, Polyxenidas set sail for Panormus, where arriving in the night, he found the Rhodians lying on the shore without the smallest apprehension of a foe. The noise of a fleet entering the harbour soon aroused them from their lethargy. Pausistratus, convinced of the treachery, thought it more advantageous to offer battle by land than at sea, and accordingly he drew up his forces upon two promontories, which formed the mouth of the harbour. They were scarcely drawn up, when they were unexpectedly attacked in the rear by Nicander, and the Rhodians, fearing they should be surrounded, retired precipitately

to their vessels. The mouth of the harbour was by this time enclosed by the Syrian ships, and they were compelled to force their way through them in order to gain the open sea. The galley in which Pausistratus was, first faced the enemy, and it broke through the fleet; but being immediately surrounded by five quinqueremes, commanded by Polyxenidas in person, it was overpowered and sunk: the Rhodian commander and all on board perished. The death of Pausistratus was succeeded by the destruction of the Rhodian fleet; seven ships only excepted, which broke through the Syrian fleet. In their flight, these ships fell in with some Erythræan galleys, that were coming to their assistance, and, with them, they turned towards the Hellespont, where they joined the Roman fleet under Livius, who was carrying on a seige against Abydos.

Hearing of this disaster, Livius deemed it advisable to abandon the siege of Abydos; to hasten to the defence of such ships as he had left at Canæ, in Mysia, and to put a stop to the military progress of Seleucus, who, in pursuance of his father's directions, had captured Phocæ, Cyme, and other maritime cities along the coast.

Livius first attempted the reduction of Phocæ, in which he was baffled. From thence, accompanied by Eumenes, he sailed to Samos, where he was joined by another Rhodian fleet, hastily equipped, under the command of Eudamus. Thus reinforced, Livius left Samos, and sailing for Ephesus, insulted the Syrian fleet in that port. Some of the Romans landed, and laid waste the vicinity of Ephesus; but the garrison marched out against them, and compelled them to retreat to their ships. The next day, Livius challenged the Syrians to an engagement, which they declined, upon which he returned to Samos, and there resigned the command to his appointed successor, Æmilius.

The first act of Æmilius was to summon a council of war, to advise with the chief officers what course he should pursue in his naval operations. Livius advised him to shut up the port of Ephesus, and there keep the Syrian fleet confined; but Epicrates, an inferior officer in the Rhodian, fleet counselled the sending part of the fleet against Patara, in Lycia, and reducing that place. This last scheme was approved of, and Livius despatched thither for that purpose. But Livius failed in the attempt to capture Patara; and Æmilius was compelled, through a storm, to leave the port of Ephesus. Æmilius next hastened to Patara himself, designing to besiege

it; but his officers remonstrated with him on the impropriety of spending his time before that place, when the allies would be left to the mercy of the enemy, and he therefore returned to Samos.

During the siege of Patara, Antiochus on the one side, and Seleucus on the other, invaded the kingdom of Pergamus. Seleucus, passing the Caicus from Æolis, where he had wintered, entered the dominions of Eumenes, by the way of Elæa, the port of Pergamus; whilst Antiochus, advancing to Sardis, and from thence to the Caicus, encamped near the army of Seleucus. Antiochus had a body of 4000 Gauls in his army, whom he employed in plundering and ravaging the country; whilst Seleucus, at the head of his army, appeared before Pergamus, and besieged it in form. As soon as Eumenes was apprized of this movement by Attalus, whom he had left in his capital to defend his dominions, he sailed back from Samos to the port of Elæa, and reached Pergamus before the enemy was aware of his approach. The Roman and Rhodian fleet also set sail for Pergamus without delay.

Alarmed in his turn, Antiochus, leaving his son to ravage the country of Pergamus, marched into the Troade, which adhered to the Romans, and encamped near Adramyttium, at the foot of mount Ida, which in this part joins with mount Temnos. This city stands at the head of the gulf of the same name, twenty-five geographical miles north of Pergamus. Æmilius, therefore, accompanied by Eumenes, hastened to the assistance of those faithful allies. Attalus still continued at Pergamus to oppose Seleucus, and was there reinforced by 1000 foot and 100 cavalry, sent him by the Achæans, headed by Diophanes, an officer of great courage and skill in military affairs. With this small body, Diophanes sallied out of the city, gained a considerable advantage over Seleucus, and obliged him to raise the siege of Pergamus, and quit the dominions of Eumenes. Had this bold action been seconded by Attalus and the Pergamenians, the whole army of Seleucus might have been destroyed.

Antiochus had no better success in the Troade. Æmilius, with the three confederate fleets, sailed to Adramyttium, and forced him to abandon it, after he had taken several defenceless towns and cities on his way thither, and make his retreat to Sardis. The combined fleet then returned to Samos, where they separated. Æmilius continued there to watch the motions of the Syrian fleet. Eumenes sailed to the Hellespont,

to facilitate the passage of the Roman army over that strait; and Eudamus returned to Rhodes, to obtain reinforcements.

Having received seventeen additional galleys, Eudamus set sail to intercept Hannibal, and prevent his junction with Polyxenidas, in the port of Ephesus. He first advanced to Megiste, the modern Casteloryzo, an island with a port off the southern coast of the Lycian peninsula. The heat being excessive, and the air very injurious to health at Megiste, Eudamus sailed thence to the mouth of the Eurymedon in Pamphylia, where he was informed by the inhabitants of Aspendus, that Hannibal's fleet appeared off Sida. This fleet consisted of thirty-seven large ships, three of which were septiremes, four hexaremes, and ten triremes. The Rhodian fleet consisted of thirty-two quadriremes, and four triremes.* A sea fight ensued, which resulted in the defeat of Hannibal, who, after a severe struggle, was compelled to take refuge in flight. The Rhodians, after having pursued him for some time, and taken one of his hexaremes, returned to Rhodes, with the glory of having conquered, but not destroyed, the Syrian fleet.

The loss of this battle is ascribed to Apollonius, a royal favourite, who commanded the left wing. This wing being broken, it enabled the whole Rhodian fleet to surround Hannibal's right wing, and thereby secure the victory. It must be recollected also, that Hannibal was as unskilful in naval, as he was skilful in military affairs; like Philopœmon, his celebrated contemporary, who had been not long before utterly defeated in a naval engagement by Nabis, the Spartan tyrant.

On the defeat of Hannibal, the Rhodian fleet blocked him up in the ports of Pamphylia so closely, that it rendered it impossible for him to do his master the least service. This was a serious loss to Antiochus; for, had Hannibal effected a junction with Polyxenidas, he would, in all probability, have been superior to the combined fleets of Livius, Eumenes, and Eudamus, and thus have recovered for him the empire of the sea. In this case, the passage of the Roman army across the Hellespont might have been prevented, and the ruin of the Syrian power delayed, if not averted.

Thus thwarted in his movements, Antiochus saw the necessity of preventing the arrival of his most formidable enemy. He sought to draw over the Bithynian monarch to his side;

* The septiremes were ships with seven banks or ranges of oars; the hexaremes with six banks of oars; the quadriremes with four banks of oars; and the triremes with three banks of oars.

but he failed in this object. The only resource now left, therefore, was in his fleet; which though deprived of the expected reinforcements from the Cilician coast, by the bockade of Hannibal, he still thought might be a match for the Roman, deprived of the Rhodian fleet, which he imagined wholly occupied off Patara, and that of Eumenes, which had sailed to the Hellespont, to waft over the Roman legions. Polyxenidas was consequently ordered to go and engage with Æmilius, at all hazards, whilst he himself marched with his land forces to Notium, a small town on the coast, five miles from Ephesus, and two from Colophon, to which it belonged.

Having arrived at Notium, Antiochus went and invested Colophon, which was one of the most considerable cities of Ionia, situated on the coast, at the foot, and on the slope of Mount Gallæsius, and which had long been troublesome to his fleet, in giving notice to the Romans of its movements. As he expected, the Colophians sent immediate advice of their danger to Æmilius, desiring his aid against an enemy they had drawn upon themselves by their fidelity to Rome. The measures of the Roman admiral were broken by this message, as he had previously determined to sail to the Hellespont with the first fair wind, and assist the disembarkation of the Scipios, who were at the head of the legions.

Before Æmilius attacked Antiochus, he resolved to touch at Chios, the great depot of the Romans, in order to take in provisions. From thence he sailed to Meos, a city on the south side of the peninsula of Clazomenæ, and the birth-place of the poet Anacreon, and Hecatæus, the historian. His object in visiting Teos was to compel the Teians to deliver up 5000 hogsheads of wine, which he was informed they had promised the king of Syria, or to capture and demolish their city.

Being relieved from the blockade by these movements of the Roman admiral, Polyxenidas sailed out in quest of his adversary. He found him in the harbour of Teos, and he sheltered his own fleet under the islet of Macris two days, hoping to surprise Æmilus in his passage from Teos to Colophon. Æmilius, however, being informed that the Syrian fleet waited for him at Macris, left Teos, and steered his course towards that islet, with his ships drawn up in order of battle.

As Polyxenidas had orders to engage the Romans, he embraced the opportunity, and attacked them with great resolution. But his efforts were unavailing. The Rhodians had then invented a kind of fire-ships, which struck great terror

into the Syrian fleet. Cauldrons, full of combustible materials, were hung out at their prows, so that none of the enemy's ships durst approach them. These fell on the Syrian galleys, struck their beaks into them, and at the same time set them on fire. The Syrian galleys left their ranks and crowded round them, to discharge their arrows, darts, and javelins against their crews. This was a fatal error. The Roman ships, sailing into the vacant spaces left by the Syrians, disordered their whole fleet. It was in vain that Polyxenidas encouraged his men; the left wing being put into confusion, fled precipitately, and the right, in which Polyxenidas was stationed, being galled by the Rhodian fire-ships, followed the example.

The accounts of the Syrian loss on this occasion vary. But whatever was the amount, it proved a death-blow to the hopes of Antiochus, of ever performing any great action by sea; while at the same time, the passage was now open for the Roman army. Astounded by the intelligence, Antiochus immediately raised the siege of Colophon, and retired to Sardis, and then to his son-in-law, Ariarthes, king of Cappadocia, where he assembled all his land forces, in order to oppose the Romans, who were now arrived at the Thracian Chersonesus.

The withdrawal of his forces out of Lysimachia, and the other cities of the Hellespont, was a great error on the part of Antiochus. Lysimachia being very strongly fortified, might have sustained a long siege, perhaps till the winter was far advanced, which would have greatly incommoded the enemy, by the want of provisions and forage, and during that interval he might have taken measures for an accommodation with the Romans. Besides, the precipitate manner in which he recalled these troops, left them no time to secure their ammunition and provisions, of both which he had prepared a considerable quantity in those cities. By this means, when the Romans entered them, they found ammunition and provisions in such abundance, that they seemed to have been prepared for their express service; while the passage of the Hellespont was left undisputed by this untoward evacuation.

Historians are unanimous in their censure of the conduct of Antiochus on this occasion; looking upon it in the light of blind infatuation. It is an evident instance of what is so frequently mentioned in Holy Writ, that when God is determined to punish and destroy a kingdom, he deprives either the king, his commanders, or counsellors, of counsel, prudence,

and courage. Thus the prophet Isaiah threatened the Jews in these words:—

> For, behold, the Lord, the Lord of hosts,
> Doth take away from Jerusalem and from Judah
> The stay and the staff,
> The whole stay of bread, and the whole stay of water,
> The mighty man, and the man of war,
> The judge, and the prophet, and the prudent, and the ancient,
> The captain of fifty, and the honourable man,
> And the counsellor, and the cunning artificer, and the eloquent orator.
> Isa. iii. 1—3.

It is remarkable that Antiochus himself complained of his fate when he withdrew his forces from Lysimachia, in these words: "I know not what god has infatuated me; but every thing happens contrary to my expectations. Heaven persecutes me; and what can I infer from all this, but that my ruin approaches?" The pagan historian, also, says expressly, and enforces it by repetition, that "God took away the king's judgment, and overthrew his reason; a punishment that always happens, when men are upon the point of falling into some great calamity." This is what David besought God to do with regard to Ahithophel, the counsellor of Absalom. "O Lord, I pray thee, turn the counsel of Ahithophel into foolishness," 2 Sam. xv. 31. His prayer was answered: "And Absalom and all the men of Israel said, The counsel of Hushai the Archite is better than the counsel of Ahithophel. For the Lord had appointed to defeat the good counsel of Ahithophel, to the intent that the Lord might bring evil upon Absalom," 2 Sam. xvii. 14. Notwithstanding the scoffs of the sceptical, the affairs of mankind are not left to the control of blind chance, but are all directed by a superintending Providence. Empires and kingdoms are under the direction of an Almighty Being: they rise into power, and fall into decay according to his holy will and pleasure. Not less so are the affairs of individuals under the guidance of Heaven. This is a cheering reflection for the Christian, which the lip of Truth has uttered: "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear ye not therefore, ye are of more value than many sparrows," Matt. x. 29—31. See also Luke xii. 6.

The Romans at length passed into Asia. After halting at Troy, which they considered their primitive country, they passed on to Abydos. Antiochus was alarmed, and he re-

solved to send an embassy to them, to propose conditions of peace. Heraclides of Byzantium was placed at the head of this embassy, and he was charged to declare the readiness of Antiochus to deliver up to the Romans the cities of Lampsacus, Smyrna, and Alexandria; to evacuate all places in Ionia and Æolis, as the Romans had demanded; and to pay half the expense which Rome had incurred in bringing the war into Asia.

Heraclides was charged to address himself, in the first place, to Scipio Africanus, to conciliate his favour, and when he found him disposed to hearken to his proposals, to assure him that Antiochus was ready to restore him his son, whom he had recently captured as he was going in a boat from Chalcis to Oreum, without ransom; that all the king of Syria's treasures were at his service: and that he was willing to share his dominions with him. This was ill-judged policy. Finding Antiochus so cowardly, the Romans were only the more inexorable. They replied, that a peace would not be granted to Antiochus upon any other terms than the following: 1. That since Antiochus had drawn the war upon himself, he should defray the whole expenses of it; 2. That he should restore liberty in general to all the Greek cities in Asia; and, 3. That to prevent all future hostilities, he should relinquish all Asia on this side Mount Taurus. Antiochus thought that the Romans could not have prescribed more humiliating conditions had they conquered him, and such a peace appeared to him as calamitous as the most fatal war. He therefore turned all his thoughts to the necessary preparations for opposing the enemy, and preventing his further progress. But it was the contest of weakness with strength, of ignorance with knowledge, and the issue was therefore certain, so far as human certainties extend.

Having taken this resolution, Antiochus encamped near Thyatira in Lydia, where he assembled all his forces. On the other hand, the Romans advanced to Elæa, near the mouth of the Caicus. In a few days, Antiochus moved from Thyatira, and leaving the river Hermus between him and the Romans, encamped near Magnesia, within reach of mount Sipylus. He was followed thither by the Romans, and a dreadful battle was fought, in which Antiochus was utterly overthrown, notwithstanding his army was numerically superior to that of the Romans. It is said that he lost 50,000 foot and 4000 horse in this struggle, with 1500 prisoners; while in the consular army there were but 300 foot and twenty-five

horse killed: whereby the victory was considered a prodigy to all nations both of the east and the west. It is probable, however, that the number slain is much exaggerated.

On his defeat, Antiochus retired to Sardis with the remnant of his forces. From Sardis he marched to rejoin his son Seleucus, who had fled to Apamea. As for the consul, he took advantage of the defeat and flight of Antiochus, and made himself master of all the neighbouring countries. Thyatira, Magnesia, Trallis, Magnesia in Caria, Alabanda, all Lydia, and even Ephesus itself, highly favoured as it had been by the vanquished monarch, declared for the Romans. Finally, the consul took the road to Sardis, which opened its gates at his approach.

While the consular army was at Sardis, Antiochus sent Antipater, his brother's son, with Zeuxis, who had been governor of Lydia and Phrygia, to sue for peace. They were directed chiefly to treat with the elder Scipio, of whose clemency Antiochus entertained a high opinion. Accordingly, on their arrival at Sardis, they resorted to him, and were by him presented to the consul. A council was called, which dictated the following conditions of peace: 1. That Antiochus should evacuate Asia Minor; 2. That he should pay to the Romans 15,000 Euobic talents, and to Eumenes 400; and, 3. That Hannibal and some others should be delivered up, and the king's younger son Antiochus be given as an hostage. The ambassadors were directed to sign any terms which might be offered, and therefore these, humiliating as they must have been, were accepted. And thus the power of the Syrian empire was for ever broken. The address of the psalmist to the sons of pride may be well applied as an improvement of this event:

> Lift not up your horn on high:
> Speak not with a stiff neck.
> For promotion cometh neither from the east,
> Nor from the west, nor from the south.
> But God is the Judge:
> He putteth down one, and setteth up another,
> For in the hand of the Lord there is a cup,
> And the wine is red; it is full of mixture;
> And he poureth out of the same:
> But the dregs thereof, all the wicked of the earth shall wring them out, and drink them.—Psa. lxxv. 5—8.

Antiochus drank of this cup through the instrumentality of the Romans: it was reserved for them in after ages.

This peace being ratified by the Conscript Fathers at

Rome, with such additions and alterations as they thought proper to make, and all Asia on this side mount Taurus delivered into the power of the Romans, the Greek cities were by them restored to their liberty, the provinces of Caria and Lydia given to the Rhodians, and all the rest that had belonged to Antiochus bestowed upon Eumenes. The loss of the surrendered countries, says Heeren, was a consequence of this peace, less disadvantageous to the Syrian kings than the use made of it by the conquerors. By adding the greatest part of the ceded territories to those of the kings of Pergamus, the Romans raised up alongside of their enemy a rival whom they might, at their own will, use as a political engine against him. Rome took care likewise that the stipulated sum should be paid by instalments in twelve years, to the end that Syria might be kept in a permanent state of dependence.

By the original treaty, Scipio stipulated that Antiochus should pay 15,000 Euboic talents. This was one of the points altered by the Conscript Fathers. They condemned him to pay 15,000 *Attic* talents, which was a material addition to the sum first imposed. According to Arbuthnot's calculation, 15,000 Euboic talents, at the rate of sixty minæ, or 193*l.* 15*s.* per talent, was equal to 2,916,250*l.* sterling; whereas 15,000 Attic talents, of eighty minæ, or 268*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* per talent, amounted to 3,876,500*l.* sterling, nearly a million of pounds sterling more. Besides this, the sum of 400 talents, which he was bound to pay to Eumenes, was augmented to 477, namely, 127 for the corn he received from Attalus, and 350 to be paid Eumenes in five years. If these talents were also Attic, their value would amount collectively to 123,276*l.* 17*s.* sterling, which added to the 15,000 Attic talents, very nearly make 4,000,000*l.* sterling. As Heeren intimates, Antiochus was to pay 1000 of these talents annually, or 258,433*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for twelve years to Rome. The other 3000 were already paid, namely, 500 to the consul, at the signing of the preliminary treaty, and 2500 at the signing of the definitive treaty.

To depress Antiochus still more, the Roman senate bound him over to deliver up all his elephants, and train up no more for war. He was also to deliver up all his galleys of war to the Romans, to have no more than ten such at sea, which should be only triremes, or vessels of thirty oars. And even these were not to be allowed to sail beyond the promontories of Calycadnus and Sarpedon, unless for the purpose of bring-

ing money, ambassadors, or hostages to Rome. He was not, moreover, to raise mercenaries in any of the countries belonging to Rome or her allies, or receive volunteers from thence. Finally, if any of the allies made war upon him, he was to have the right of defending himself; but he was to retain none of the cities, or take them into friendship, or draw them over to his side by corruption: all disputes were to be decided by feat of arms alone. Such were the chief articles of this humiliating treaty; a treaty by which Antiochus was permitted to defend himself, after the Romans had first shorn him of all power! So fond is man of displaying power over his brother man.

Antiochus did not long survive his fall. Disappointed of all those schemes of conquest and glory in which he had indulged so long and so madly, says Aurelius Victor, and conscious of his utter inability to retrieve his fallen condition, he returned to Antioch, and gave himself up to gross sensuality and debauchery, as the last remaining source of enjoyment. Having lost all sense of honour in the deep abyss of his political degradation, and unable to bear with equanimity his misfortunes, like many in similar circumstances, he sought solace from grief in the enjoyments of the table. Heated with wine, at one of these entertainments, he struck and abused one of his guests, who killed him in the quarrel. This was in 187 B. C., in the fifty-second year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign.

By ancient historians, Antiochus is commended for his humanity, clemency, and liberality. A decree which he enacted, giving his subjects permission, and even commanding them not to obey his orders when they interfered with the laws, shows that he possessed a love of justice. Till the fiftieth year of his age, he behaved with a courage and prudence that gained him the title of The Great; but after that age, he declined in the wisdom of his conduct and his application to business, and all his affairs were proportionably unsuccessful. His conduct in his struggle with Rome; the contempt in which he held the wise counsels of Hannibal; and the ignominious peace he was compelled to accept, obscured effectually the brighter page of his previous history.

The exploits and misfortunes of Antiochus were minutely foretold by the prophet Daniel, chap. xi. The first nine verses of this remarkable chapter have been noticed in the History of the Egyptians, where the kings of the *north* and the *south*, or Syria and Egypt, are described as uniting their families

by marriage. Antiochus Theos repudiated his wife, Laodice, (by whom he had issue, Seleucus Callinicus, to whose sons and descendants the remainder of the prophecy refers,) to marry Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy. As the reader peruses it, he would do well to refer back to the events of the reign of Antiochus the Great, that his faith may be strengthened in the truth of Holy Writ. After describing this marriage and its immediate consequences, the prophet continues:

"But his sons [Seleucus Ceraunus, and Antiochus the Great, the sons of Callinicus] shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces: and one [of them, Antiochus the Great] shall certainly come, and overflow, [Cœlo Syria,] and pass through: then shall he return, [the next year,] and be stirred up, [marching,] even to his fortress, [the frontier towns of Egypt.] And the king of the south [Ptolemy Philopater] shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth [the third year] and fight with him, even with the king of the north, [Antiochus:] and he [Antiochus] shall set forth a great multitude; but the multitude shall be given into his [Ptolemy's] hand, [at the battle of Raphia.] And when he hath taken away the multitude, [of the Syrians,] his [Ptolemy's] heart shall be lifted up; and he shall cast down many ten thousands [of his own subjects:] but he shall not be strengthened by it. For the king of the north [Antiochus] shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come after certain years [twelve] with a great army and with much riches. And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south, [particularly the Macedonians:] also the robbers of thy people [the Jews, Samaritans, etc.] shall exalt themselves [or affect independence] to establish the vision, [or bring on the predicted calamities;] but they shall fall, [by Scopas.] So the king of the north [Antiochus] shall come, and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities: and the arms of the south [Scopas, etc.] shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand. But he [Antiochus] that cometh against him shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him: and he shall stand in the glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed. He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, [into Raphia,] and upright ones with him, [to make an agreement with Ptolemy Epiphanes:]—and he [Antiochus] shall give him [Ptolemy Epiphanes, in marriage] the daughter of women, [Cleopatra,] cor-

rupting her: but she shall not stand on his side, neither be for him, [but for her husband, Ptolemy Epiphanes, contrary to his will.] After this shall he turn his face unto the isles, [westward,] and shall take many: but a [Roman] prince for his own behalf [and to support his allies] shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease; without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him. Then he shall turn his face toward the fort of his own land, [Antioch, in his flight eastward:] but he shall stumble and fall, [in that city,] and not be found," [he shall meet with an unexpected and violent death,] Dan. xi. 10—19.

Thus beautifully does this prediction of the holy prophet Daniel harmonize with the distant events to which it refers. Verily, the pages of antiquity form a beautiful commentary upon the word of God when thus brought together. They demonstrate its truth in lines which the malice of infidels can never erase: undesignedly, indeed but no less faithfully.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE UNION BETWEEN THE SELEUCIDÆ AND THE ROMANS, TILL THE FINAL TRIUMPH OF THE LATTER.

SELEUCUS PHILOPATER.

Seleucus iv., surnamed Philopater, the eldest son of Antiochus the Great, succeeded to the throne of his father, and the obligations under which he lay to the Romans. He reigned eleven years and a few months; but his name is not celebrated in history in consequence of the abject state to which the Syrian empire had been reduced by the Romans. He was, indeed, no more than a tax-gatherer for them, as foretold by the prophet Daniel:

"Then shall [Philopater] stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom: but within few days [or years] he shall be destroyed, neither in anger, nor in battle," [but by domestic treason,] Dan. xi. 20.

Seleucus Philopater reigned during the pontificate of Onias iii., when Jerusalem was inhabited with peace, and the laws obeyed, because of the godliness of this high priest and his hatred of wickedness. The author of the book of Maccabees says, that Seleucus himself, out of his own revenues, bore all the costs belonging to the service of the sacrifices. Upon the information of Simon, however, (who was made governor of the temple, and who had quarrelled with the high priest,) that the treasury of Jerusalem was exceedingly rich, and abundantly more than sufficient to supply the sacrifices, the king, who was straitened for money to pay the Roman tribute, sent his treasurer, Heliodorus, to seize and bring him the money. It would appear, from the author before mentioned, that Seleucus failed in this sacrilegious attempt; and it is certain that he was soon murdered by his ambitious and wicked treasurer, Heliodorus, who usurped the kingdom.

Heliodorus did not long enjoy his usurpation. At the time of the death of Seleucus Philopater, his younger brother, Antiochus, who had been exchanged as a hostage, for his son Demetrius, at Rome, was then on his way home, at Athens. Antiochus had sufficient address to ingratiate himself with Eumenes, king of Pergamus, and to prevail on him to expel the usurper, and place him on the throne; and with the Syrians and Romans, to suffer him to reign in exclusion of the rightful heir. young Demetrius.

ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

On the accession of Antiochus, B. C. 175, he was styled Epiphanes, signifying "illustrious;" but from the wild and disgraceful freaks and excesses into which he ran, combined with the utmost profusion and extravagance, to support his interests with his subjects and the Romans, he was nicknamed Epimanes, "the madman." This latter appellation is remarkably conformable to his Scripture title of "a vile person," given him by the prophet Daniel. Jerome says that he was a most lewd prince, and Polybius, Philarchus, Livy, and Diodorus Siculus, confirm the statement.

The first act of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes was to depose Onias III., whose sacred office he sold for 440 talents of silver, about 85,000 pounds sterling, to his younger brother, Jesus, who assumed a Greek name, Jason; and who gave him 150 more for license to erect a place of exercise at Jerusalem for the youth of the city, according to the pagan customs of the Greeks. Jason, however, did not long enjoy his ill-gotten dignity. Three years after, he was supplanted by his younger brother, Onias IV., or Menelaus, who gave Antiochus 300 talents more for the office than Jason had given. Jason fled into the country of the Ammonites. Meanwhile, Menelaus stole some golden vessels out of the temple, and sold them at Tyre and the neighbouring cities, and when reproved by his brother, the exiled Onias, he prevailed on Andronicus, the king's deputy at Antioch, to destroy him: for which act Andronicus was slain on the same spot by Antiochus. These facts are derived from the book of Maccabees, and confirmed by Josephus, except that concerning the sale of the pontificate, which, nevertheless, from the character of the parties concerned, appears to be true.

Upon the accession of Ptolmey Philometer, his nephew, to the throne of Egypt, Antiochus sent ambassadors to assist at

the coronation. These ambassadors discovered that the ministers of the young king meant to renew their master's claim to the provinces of Cœlo-Syria and Palestine, which had long been a subject of verbal dispute. Antiochus denied the claim, and, despising the youth of Ptolemy, repeatedly invaded Egypt. In his first expedition, B. C. 171, as he was on his way, he received a bribe to acquit Menelaus of the charge of sacrilege. Afterwards, he gained a victory over the Egyptians near Mount Cassius and Pelusium. Next year, B. C. 170, he completely defeated the Egyptian army, took Philometer prisoner, and subdued the whole army, except the capital, Alexandria. Antiochus went on a third expedition, B. C. 169, and laid siege to Alexandria, where the Egyptians had proclaimed the younger brother of Philometer king, under the name of Euergetes II., nicknamed, afterwards, Physcon, from his corpulency. In opposition to Euergetes II., Antiochus left Philometer at Memphis, as titular sovereign, and also a strong garrison in Pelusium. The brothers, however, coalesced against their unnatural uncle, and sent an embassy to Rome, imploring protection. This brought on a fourth invasion, B. C. 168; but when Antiochus was at Eleusine, near Alexandria, he was met by the Roman ambassadors, at the head of whom was Popilius Lenas, who put a final stop to his proceedings. See the History of the Egyptians.

While Antiochus was employed in his second invasion of Egypt, having heard a rumour of his death, Jason collected together a band of miscreants, with whom he surprised Jerusalem, massacred the citizens, drove Menelaus, his brother, into the castle, and possessed himself of the principality. He was expelled, however, a second time, and perished miserably, at length, in the strange land of Lacedæmonia. Antiochus conceiving that Judea had revolted, returned in great wrath from Egypt, took the city by assault, destroyed 80,000 persons during a massacre of three days, plundered the temple of all its treasures, vessels, and golden ornaments, and carried away 1800 talents, about 400,000 pounds sterling, to Antioch.

Antiochus renewed his ravages of the city of Jerusalem, after his disgraceful repulse by the Roman ambassadors. He sent Apollonius, his general, with 22,000 men, to vent his fury upon its inhabitants. Apollonius, who was also "chief collector of tribute," coming in appearance peaceably to Jerusalem, slew a great multitude of men, sold the women and children for captives, and then fortified the city of David, on

Mount Sion, for a citadel, "to lie in wait against the sanctuary, and an evil adversary unto Israel."

In his mad rage, Antiochus next issued a decree for establishing the Grecian idolatry throughout his dominions. Jew and Gentile were alike enjoined to conform to his religion, worship his idols, and follow the strange laws of the land, under pain of death. In the course of the same year, B. C. 168, about six months after the capture of the city, the temple of Jerusalem was dedicated to Jupiter Olympias; and, by the consent of the Samaritans, the temple on Mount Gerizim, to Jupiter Xenius, "the defender of strangers." "The abomination of desolation" was set up on the altar of the Lord at Jerusalem, on the 15th day of the ninth month, Cisleu; and on the 25th of the same month, sacrifices were offered upon the idol altar, built beside the altar of God, so celebrated in Holy Writ. Idol altars, also, were erected on every side throughout the cities of Judea, on which the king's commissioners enforced obedience to the edict. An old Athenian minister, well versed in all the heathenish rites, was sent to Jerusalem to see that they were duly executed. Ultimately, it appears that Antiochus came into Palestine himself to see that his orders were obeyed; and the history of the Maccabees relates that he commanded and superintended the most horrible tortures of the recusants. Particular mention is made of the martyrdom of Eleazer, in his ninetieth year, for refusing to eat swine's flesh; and of the heroic matron, and her seven sons, who set the regal madman at defiance.

The Jews had never before experienced such a persecution as this. It was the first time, indeed, in which it can be said they were persecuted on account of their religion. During six months, they suffered greatly: at the end of that time, however, God raised up a deliverance for his people in the noble family of the Asamoneans, Mattathias and his sons.

Mattathias was the son of John, the son of Simeon, the son of Asamoneus. He was a priest of the course of Jehoiarib, the first of the twenty-four courses appointed by David, 1 Chron. xxiv. 7, descended from Phineas, the son of Eleazer, the elder branch of the family of Aaron. He had five sons, whose names were Johanon, Simon, Judas called Maccabeus, Eleazer, and Jonathan.

Mattathias was one of the principal inhabitants of Modin, a town near the sea shore, about a mile from Joppa, or Jaffa, and four miles from Lydda, or Diospolis. To this city a royal officer named Apelles was sent to enforce the edict. With

fair promises, he endeavoured to induce Mattathias, as a leading man in Modin, to set the example of sacrificing to the idol. The undaunted priest, however, repelled his offers with indignation and abhorrence, and with a loud voice, in the hearing of the assembly, proclaimed his refusal to sacrifice.

At this juncture, a certain Jew passed towards the altar with the intention of sacrificing, when Mattathias, in obedience to the law, struck him down as a rebel against Jehovah. This was the commencement of a great war. Mattathias and his sons, assisted by the citizens, rushed upon the commissioner and his retinue, slew them on the spot, and tore down the idolatrous altar. Alive to the consequences of his bold act, Mattathias proclaimed throughout the city, "Whosoever is zealous for the law, and a maintainer of the covenant, let him follow me." Having made this proclamation, Mattathias and his five sons, with four others, fled to the mountains of Judèa, where they were soon joined by many Jews, who were determined to maintain the religion of their fathers.

Scrupulously adhering to the law of the sabbath, in opposition to the loose principles of those who had joined the Greeks, these confederate Jews held it to be imperative to abstain from the use of arms on that day. In consequence of this, a thousand persons, who had taken refuge in a large cave near Jerusalem, allowed themselves to be slaughtered without resistance. This event opened the eyes of Mattathias and his adherents, who, after mature deliberation, determined that it was both lawful and their duty to stand on their defence on the sabbath day; although they still thought themselves bound to refrain from being the assailants on that day.

Being joined by a gallant band of Assideans, or "Volunteers, wholly devoted to the law," and by others that fled from the sword of persecution, Mattathias, emerging from his concealment, went throughout the country, and pulled down the altars, and pursued the proud persecutors. He also circumcised the children, and slew the apostate Jews and the officers appointed to execute the decree of Antiochus, and recovered many of the copies of the law which the oppressors had taken away. While employed in this work, the heroic priest died. B. C. 167.

Before his death, Mattathias appointed his third and bravest son, Judas, to be military leader; associating Simon, his second and most prudent son, with him as counsellor. Judas is supposed to have derived his celebrated surname of Maccabeus, from a cabalistical word formed of M. B. C. I., the ini-

tial letters of the Hebrew text, *Mi Chamoka Bælim Iahoh*, "Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods?" Exod. xv. 11. These letters *might* have been displayed on his standard, like the S. P. Q. R. for *Senatus Populus que Romanus*, on the ensigns of the Romans.*

The first enterprise of Judas and his little band was against Apollonius, whom he defeated and slew, and took his sword, with which he afterwards fought all his life long. His next exploit was the defeat of Seron, a Syrian general, with a large host of Græcising Jews and apostate Samaritans, near Bethoron. On meeting this host, Judas encouraged his company with these words: "With the God of heaven it is all one to deliver with a great multitude or a small company:" adding emphatically, "We fight for our lives and our laws."

Enraged at the success of Judas Maccabeus, whose fame had spread through all the neighbouring nations, Antiochus formed large plans of vengeance; but finding these checked by the exhausted state of his treasury, he resolved to proceed into the eastern provinces to recruit his finances, he having squandered away his wealth, and the Armenians and Persians being in arrears with their tribute, and on the eve of revolt. Before he went, he appointed his kinsman, Lysias, regent of all the western provinces from the Euphrates to Egypt, and commissioned him to raise and march an army to extirpate the Jews, and to plant a foreign colony in their room.

Acting upon this commission, the next year, B. C. 166, Lysias sent a great army into Judea under the command of Nicanor and Gorgias. So confident were they of victory, that Nicanor proclaimed a sale of the captive Jews beforehand, at the rate of ninety for a talent, or about two pounds sterling per head. This drew a crowd of merchants from the sea coast to the Syrian camp at Emmaus, near Jerusalem, to make a cheap purchase of slaves, according to the practice of the times. Under these circumstances, Judas and his party assembled at Mazpeh, or Mizpeh, that ancient place of concourse, where they fasted and prayed; after which, in obedience to the law, he dismissed all such of his men as had, in the course

* This is the most general opinion; but these are others who think that it is derived from the Hebrew term *Macchabeh*, which signifies "hid," and which would thereby be a contemptuous epithet bestowed upon them by their adversaries, because they concealed themselves in caves and rocks; or from the word *Makkebah*, signifying a cavern, and so they might be called "caverners," or those who lurked in caverns. By others the appellation is derived from the verb *macab*, to wound; from *nakab*, to perforate; and from *hakab*, to supplant.

of the preceding year, built houses, betrothed wives, or were planting vineyards, or were fearful. This act of faith reduced his small army from 6000 to 3000 men.

Deeming it superfluous to employ their whole force against so small an army, Gorgias, one of the Syrian generals, with a chosen body of troops, 5000 foot and 1000 horse, marched by night to surprise Judas. That vigilant commander, however, was apprised of the design, and determined to take advantage of the separation of the two generals. He marched early in the evening, and fell by night upon the camp of Nicanor; by which movement he put the whole camp of his adversary into confusion. Three thousand Syrians were slain, many soldiers and slave dealers made prisoners, and their tents were set on fire. Early in the morning, Gorgias, returning from his abortive expedition to Mizpeh, beheld the Syrian camp in flames, which threw his followers into such a panic that they fled. Judas pursued them in their flight, and with such vigour, that 9000 of their enemies were destroyed that day, and many more wounded. Nicanor fled, in the disguise of a slave, to Antioch, declaring that a mighty God had fought for the Jews. After the victory, the Jews spoiled the enemy's camp, in which they found great quantities of gold and silver, including the money brought by the slave merchants. They celebrated the victory by a feast of thanksgiving.

Immediately after, the Jews defeated another Syrian army under Timotheus and Bacchides, slew a great many men, reduced several strong holds, and then divided the united spoils with the maimed, the orphans, the widows, and the aged.

During the next year, B. C. 165, Lysias assembled another large army, and marched himself to invade Judea in the south. He entered Idumea, which was now confined to the region west and south-west of the Asphaltic Lake, which had in former ages belonged to the tribes of Simeon and Judah, but after the captivity, when it lay desolate, had been occupied by the Edomites, from Arabia Petræa, the ancient Edom, who made Hebron their capital, and rebuilt on their northern frontier the strong fortress of Bethsura, which had been originally built by Rehoboam. At this advantageous post Lysias encamped, and was encountered by Judas with only 10,000 men, who gained a most important victory, slaying 5000 men on the spot, and dispersing the rest. Observing that the Jews fought like men determined to conquer or die, Lysias did not venture a renewal of the engagement, but retired to Antioch, designing to bring an overwhelming force next year.

During this disastrous war which he had kindled in the west, Antiochus was little more successful in the east. Having departed from Antioch, his capital, he crossed Mount Taurus, and entering Armenia, defeated Artaxias and took him prisoner. From Armenia he hastened into Persia, in order to oblige the natives of that rich province to pay the arrears of their yearly tribute. Being informed that the city of Elymais was renowned for its wealth, and that immense sums were lodged in its celebrated temple, he hastened thither, eager for the plunder. He was, however, repulsed with the greatest ignominy, and compelled to retire to Ecbatana, in Media.

While at Ecbatana, Antiochus received the news of the defeat of Nicanor and Timotheus, and he instantly set out from Media, swelling with rage, and breathing forth ruin and destruction on the inhabitants of Jerusalem. As he was hastening onwards, near Babylonia, other messengers brought him an account of the defeat of Lysias, and informed him that Judas had retaken the temple, thrown down the images and altars which he had erected, and restored the ancient worship of the Jews. This exasperated him still more, and being impatient to reach Antioch, that he might from thence march in person against the Jews, he ordered his charioteer to drive with the utmost speed, vowing that he would extirpate the whole nation. But while his mouth uttered his purposes of vengeance, he was smitten with sore and remediless torments in his inner parts. Still on he went; until he fell from his chariot, and suffered from the fall. He was then carried on a litter; but his disease acquired such a loathsome character, that he became an abhorrence both to himself and attendants. He was at length obliged to halt at a town called Tabæ, situated somewhere in the range of Zagros, to the south-west of Ecbatana, on the direct road from that place to the Tigris and Babylon, where he died in great agony. Before he expired, he was led to perceive that the hand of God had smitten him, and to acknowledge that his barbarities and sacrileges where justly punished by the torments which he endured, and by the death which lay before him. B. C. 194.

The leading occurrences of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes are thus foretold by the prophet Daniel in his continuation.

"And in his [Seleucus Philopater's] estate shall stand up a vile person, [Antiochus Epiphanes,] to whom they [the Syrians, who set up Heliodorus] shall not give the honour of the

kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries, [to Eumenes, king of Pergamus, the Syrians, and the Romans.] And with the arms of a flood shall they [Heliodorus and the Syrians] be overflown from before him, and shall be broken; yea, also the prince of the covenant, [the Jewish high priest Onias III., deposed by him.]

"And after the league made with him [Ptolemy Philometer, his nephew, king of Egypt] he shall come up, and shall become strong [in Phenicia] with a small people, [or retinue.] He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of the province, [Phenicia;] and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers' father, [or, he shall outdo them in donations;] he shall scatter among them the prey, and spoil, and riches: [he had collected plunder and his revenues to bestow upon the Phenicians, in order to attach them to his interest;] yea, and he shall forecast his devices against the strong holds, [of Egypt,] even for a [convenient] time.

"And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south [Ptolemy Philometer] with a great army; and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army; but he shall not stand: for they [Antiochus and his counsellors] shall forecast devices against him. Yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat [Eulæus, the tutor of Ptolemy, and Macron, governor of Cyprus] shall destroy him, [so that Ptolemy shall be taken prisoner,] and his army shall overflow: and many shall fall down slain. And both these kings' hearts shall be to do mischief, [to each other,] and they shall speak lies at one table, [Antiochus shall pretend to restore the crown to Ptolemy, and Ptolemy shall pretend to oppose his brother Physcon, set up by the Egyptians on his captivity;] but it shall not prosper, [the war shall not cease on either side;] for yet the end shall be at the time appointed. Then shall he [Antiochus] return into his land with great riches, [having overrun Egypt, except Alexandria;] and his heart shall be against the holy covenant, [or, the Jewish temple and religion;] and he shall do exploits, [he shall plunder the temple of Jerusalem, etc.,] and return to his own land.

"At the time appointed he shall return, and come toward the south, [Egypt;] but it [his coming] shall not be as the former, or as the latter. For the ships of Chittim [or, the Romans] shall come against him, [with ambassadors from Rome, commanding him to desist, which he did with much pusillanimity:] therefore he shall be grieved, and return, [towards

Syria,] and have indignation against the holy covenant: so shall he do; he shall even return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant, [with the apostate Menelaus and his party, to set up the Grecian idolatry.] And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice, [that is, the morning and evening sacrifice of the two lambs,] and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate, [even the altar, statue, and worship of the Olympian Jupiter, in the sanctuary.] And such as do wickedly against the covenant shall he [Antiochus] corrupt by flatteries: but the people [such as the aged Eleazar, the Hebrew matron and her seven sons, with other Jews] that do know their God shall be strong, and do exploits. And they that understand among the people [Mattathias and his sons] shall instruct many: yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil, many days. Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help: but many shall cleave to them with flatteries, [the followers of Matthias and Judas shall first be few, and afterwards increase.] And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end: because it is yet for a time appointed," [the sufferings and the death of those who stedfastly refuse to obey the king's decree shall be their glory and their triumph,] Dan. xi. 21—35. See also Dan. viii. 9—12, where Antiochus is represented as a little horn, branching out of one of the four horns of the Grecian monarchy: a horn which waxed exceeding great towards the south, [Egypt,] and the pleasant land, [Palestine;] a horn which made war against God's chosen people, prevailed against them even till he took the holy city, defiled the temple, set up the abomination of desolation, and took away the daily sacrifice: in which respect, Antiochus Epiphanes was a type of the great anti-Christian king of the seventh chapter, and of the king in the thirty-sixth verse of the eleventh chapter to the thirty-ninth, who will be revealed by time, the great chronicler of events. It is conjectured, and the hypothesis is maintained by most recent commentators, that this anti-Christian king, of whom Epiphanes may be considered a type, is the Mohammedan power. This is very probable; for on that hill, where once incense and a pure offering was paid to the God of all grace, mercy, and peace, a Mohammedan mosque has for ages been erected. If this be correct, therefore, it is the downfal of the faith of Mohammed that will usher in the glorious era of the millen-

nium, for the dawn of which all Christians should unite in fervent prayer.

These prophecies of Daniel, says Dr. Hales, foretelling the sufferings and persecutions of the Jews, from Alexander's successors in Syria and Egypt till the end of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, during a disastrous period of 160 years, are, if possible, more surprising and astonishing than even his grand prophetic period of 2300 years, and the several successions of empire, or the four temporal kingdoms, that were to precede the spiritual kingdom of God upon earth. The magnificence of the whole scheme, comprising the fortunes of all mankind, seems to be an object suitable to the OMNISCIENT GOVERNOR OF THE UNIVERSE, calculated to excite awe and admiration; but the minuteness of detail exhibited in this part exceeds that of any existing history of those times. The prophecy is really more concise and comprehensive, and yet more circumstantial and complete, than any in history. No one historian has related so many circumstances, and in such exact order of time and place, as the prophet; so that it was necessary to have recourse to several authors, Greek and Roman, Jew and Christian, for the better explaining and illustrating the great variety of particulars contained in this prophecy. And if the authors who wrote of these times were all extant, or all entire, (neither of which is the case,) we should unquestionably have still greater reason to be astonished at the consummate exactness of the prophecy. Truly,

> From God all human actions take their springs,
> The rise of empires, and the fall of kings!
> See the vast theatre of time displayed,
> While o'er the scene succeeding heroes tread!
> With pomp, the shining images succeed,
> What leaders triumph! and what monarchs bleed!
> Perform the parts his providence assigned,
> Their pride, their passions, to his ends inclined:
> Awhile they glitter in the face of day,
> Then at his nod the phantoms pass away;
> No traces left of all the busy scene,
> But that remembrance says, "The things have been."
>
> BOYSE.

ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR.

Antiochus, surnamed Eupator, "well fathered," the son of Epiphanes, then a child of nine years of age, was set up for king by Lysias, who had been appointed his guardian, B. C. 164, in opposition to Demetrius, son of Seleucus Philopater.

who had been an hostage at Rome ever since the death of his father, and who was now in the flower of his age, and an aspiring genius. The accession of Antiochus Eupator was sanctioned by the Romans; for although Demetrius failed not to urge his claims upon the attention of the senate, that sage body decided that it was more for the interest of Rome that a minor should occupy the throne of Syria, than the ardent and able Demetrius. Acting upon this unjust line of policy, they sent three experienced persons to give law to Syria, under pretence of assisting and advising the youthful monarch.

The reign of Antiochus Eupator was brief and turbulent, and his end unfortunate. At the commencement of it, Lysias renewed the war against the Maccabees, with a considerable body of foot, eighty elephants, and a body of cavalry. He laid siege to Bethsura, but was repulsed by Judas, with the loss of many men, while his whole army was dispersed. This defeat convinced Lysias that the Jews were aided by an Almighty power, which he could not withstand. He therefore offered them peace, on the condition of their being loyal to the state. To this the Jews agreed, and Lysias issued a decree, in the name of the king, which allowed them the free exercise of their own customs and worship, and permitted them to live according to their own laws. The apostate high priest, Menelaus, who had been all this time with the Syrians, and had exerted himself in promoting this peace, was sent back to be reinstated in his pontificate.

This peace, however, was of short continuance. The Jews were again molested by the governors of the Syrian provinces, and by the neighbouring nations, the Joppites, Jamnites, Arabians, and Idumeans, all of whom Judas successively subdued.

During this period, the citadel on Mount Zion, garrisoned by Syrians and renegade Jews, continued to be a source of annoyance to the temple worship, which at length proved so intolerable, that Judas besieged it, after his return from the defeat of Gorgias, governor of Idumea. Some of the besieged, however, forcing their way through in a sally, hastened to the court of Antioch, and complained of the continued hostility of the Jews to the Syrian government, as evinced by this attempt upon the Syrian garrison. Provoked at this intelligence, the king assembled a large army of 100,000 foot, 20,000 horse, and thirty-two elephants and with Lysias marched to Idumea, and besieged Bethsura. Judas quitted

the citadel, advanced to attack the king's army on the way, and slew about 600 men; but finding the Syrian army too strong, he desisted from the attack, and retreated; and Bethsura soon after surrendered for want of provisions, it being a sabbatical year of rest to the land, B. C. 163. The Syrians next proceeded to Jerusalem, which must have shared the same fate, had not the young king and his guardian been recalled by a civil war at home, commenced by Philip, who had been appointed regent by Antiochus Epiphanes before his death, to the exclusion of Lysias, whose ill success in his wars with the Jews had sapped the monarch's favour towards him. When this intelligence reached the camp, the king and council hastily concluded a peace with the Jews on the former terms, that they should be allowed to live according to their own laws. The siege was then broken up; but the treaty was violated by the Syrians, in the demolition of the strong walls of the mount on which the temple was erected.

The royal army now marched against Philip, who had taken possession of Antioch, the capital of Syria. Philip was defeated and slain; but another soon appeared, still more formidable. This was Demetrius, whose claim to the crown of Syria had been thwarted by the Roman senate. Demetrius was not allowed even to depart from Rome, on the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. Subsequently, however, acting upon the advice of his friend Polybius, the historian, he made his escape from Rome, and landed with only eight friends and their servants at Tripolis, in Phenicia. Here he had the art to persuade the people that his enterprise was sanctioned by the Romans; under which persuasion he was joined by several, with whom he advanced towards Antioch. On his arrival at the capital, the army declared for him, and secured the persons of Antiochus Eupator and Lysias, whom as a proof of their sincerity, they brought to Demetrius; but he said, "Let me not see their faces," on which hint they were slain by the soldiers, B. C. 162.

DEMETRIUS SOTER.

On assuming the crown, the first act of Demetrius was, to get himself acknowledged at Rome, on which all now depended. In this he succeeded. During the preceding year, one of the Roman ambassadors, named Octavius, had been slain, while enforcing the treaty of Antiochus the Great, by destroying all the elephants, and all but twelve ships of war

Demetrius, with the view of obtaining the favour of the Romans, sent the murderer to Rome, together with a present of a crown of gold. The present was accepted by the senate; but they dismissed the murderer, resolving to take some future occasion of making the whole Syrian empire responsible for the act. At the same time, they gave Demetrius proofs of a perfect reconciliation.

As soon as Demetrius was established on the throne of Syria, he delivered the Babylonians from the tyranny of Timarchus and Heraclides, whom Antiochus Epiphanes had raised to great honours; the former being governor, and the latter treasurer of the province of Babylon. Demetrius caused Timarchus to be put to death, and banished Heraclides, for which the Babylonians, with gross adulation, gave him the title of Soter, or Saviour.

After this, Demetrius, at the instigation of Alcimus, who, on the death of Menelaus, had been appointed high-priest of the Jews, but had been expelled, renewed the war with that nation. He re-appointed Alcimus as high-priest, and sent a considerable military force, under the command of Bacchides, governor of Mesopotamia, to reinstate him, and to take vengeance upon those whom Alcimus had represented as equally the enemies of himself and king. As Bacchides entered the country with professions of peace, many Jews, relying thereon, put themselves in his power, and were treacherously slain. After this, Bacchides reinstated Alcimus, and intrusting the province to his charge, and leaving a force which he deemed sufficient to protect him, he returned to Demetrius.

Judas, who had not appeared in the field against Bacchides, came forward after he withdrew, and Alcimus was again expelled, and he again repaired with his complaints to the king. On this second complaint, Demetrius, resolving on the utter destruction of the Maccabees, sent a large army into Judea, under the command of the same Nicanor whom Judas had defeated five years before. At first, he endeavoured to ensnare the Jewish chief with friendly professions; but failing in this, hostilities commenced, and a battle was fought at Capharsalama, in which Nicanor was defeated. He was then forced to seek refuge in the castle of Mount Zion, until some reinforcements, for which he sent, should arrive from Syria. These were supplied, and he then hazarded another battle, which led to the same results. B. C. 160.

Having heard of the conquests of the Romans, and the controlling power which they exercised in the affairs of west-

ern Asia and Egypt, Judas took the opportunity of the respite which the latter victory afforded him, of sending an embassy to Rome, to solicit an alliance with them, and therewith protection from the Syrian government. According to their systematic scheme of subjugation, the Roman senate granted liberty to those who were under foreign dominion, that they might detach them from their rulers, and afterwards put their own yoke upon the shoulders of those whom they thus favoured. The Jewish ambassadors were therefore graciously received, and an offensive and defensive alliance was made with the Jews. A letter, also, was immediately after written to Demetrius, commanding him to desist from persecuting them, and threatening him with war if he persisted. Before the ambassadors returned, however, or this letter had been received, Judas had fallen in a furious conflict with Bacchides, whom, with Alcimus, the Syrian monarch had sent to avenge the defeat of Nicanor.

The death of Judas was followed by a merciless persecution of his adherents; whereupon they elected his younger brother, the valiant Jonathan, to be their prince and leader. Bacchides, hearing this, sought to slay Jonathan, and a struggle was maintained between these two leaders, till the year, B. C. 156, when the sword ceased from Israel. Bacchides accepted proposals of peace from Jonathan, exchanged prisoners, swore to molest him no more, and then returned into Syria.

Soon after, Demetrius turned his arms against Cappadocia, and set up a pretender to the crown, Orofernes, in opposition to Ariarthes, the youthful monarch of that country. By this act, he drew upon himself the enmity of the kings of Egypt and Pergamus, which finally ended in his own destruction.

After this impolitic movement, about B. C. 154, Demetrius retired to a new palace which he had built near Antioch, and there abandoned himself to luxury and pleasure. All business and all care were banished from his thoughts, whereby arose great administrative abuses, leading to discontents and canspiracies, which were fostered by different neighbouring kings, and especially by Ptolemy Philometer, king of Egypt; Attalus, king of Pergamus; and Ariarthes, king of Cappadocia. These kings availed themselves of the services of Heraclides, who had been banished by Demetrius, and who had since lived at Rhodes. Heraclides, at their instigation, persuaded a young man of obscure birth, named Balas, to announce himself as the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and as

such to lay claim to the throne of Syria. As soon as he had been sufficiently tutored, Balas laid claim to the crown, and he was sent by these kings to Rome, together with a true daughter of Antiochus, to obtain a recognition of his claims from the Conscript Fathers. Although this sage body soon detected the imposture, having never forgiven Demetrius for his flight from Rome and his assumption of the throne of his ancestors, they made a decree empowering the impostor to raise forces for the recovery of the kingdom.

Balas now assumed the name of Alexander, and the title of king of Syria. He also levied troops, and sailed to Ptolemais, now Acre, in Palestine, where he was joined by numbers who had become disaffected to Demetrius.

Demetrius was now roused from his lethargy, and came forth from his disgraceful retreat. The competition proved highly advantageous to the Jews; the rivals vying with each other who should purchase their assistance by honours and immunities. Demetrius appointed Jonathan his general in Judea, and empowered him to levy forces, and furnish them with arms, as auxiliaries, and restored the hostages in the citadel, whom Jonathan delivered to their parents. On the other hand, Balas appointed Jonathan high-priest, and sent him a purple robe and crown, as ethnarch, or prince of Judea. Hearing this, Demetrius resolved to outbid Balas. He offered Jonathan a release from tribute, customs on salt, and crown taxes; the addition of the three governments of Apherema, Lydda, and Ramathem in Samaria, and the government of Galilee, to that of Judea; the freedom of the holy city, and exemption of its borders from tenths and tributes; the restoration of all captives that had been carried out of the land of Judea, from all parts of the kingdom of Syria, with remission of their tribute, and even of their cattle; and immunity and toleration for all the Jews within the realm to celebrate their festivals, sabbaths, new moons, and solemn days, without molestation or hinderance; and, in return, he required an enrolment of 30,000 Jews, to be paid by the crown, and to serve in the garrisons and places of trust, with liberty to live according to their own laws. He also offered the seaport of Ptolemais, with its territory, as a free gift to the temple of the sanctuary; a remission of the 5000 shekels of silver, which had been annually paid to the king out of the revenues of the temple; to make the temple itself an asylum for debtors to the king, or for any other matter; and to pay the expenses of repairing and fortifying Jerusalem, and the temple mount, out

of the royal treasury. The extravagant generosity of these offers made Jonathan and the patriots suspicious of their sincerity, and, mindful of the wrongs Demetrius had inflicted upon them, they agreed to espouse the cause of Alexander.

Next year, B. C. 152, the rival kings took the field with their armies, and Demetrius, who lacked neither courage nor conduct in the field of battle, gained a victory over his opponent; but Alexander, in the ensuing year, B. C. 151, being supported by the confederate kings and the Romans, was more successful. Demetrius was defeated and slain, and the successful impostor ascended the throne of Syria.

ALEXANDER BALAS.

In order to establish himself upon the throne, Alexander sought and and obtained the hand of Cleopatra, daughter of Philometer, king of Egypt, in marriage. He met her at Ptolemais, where the nuptuals were celebrated with great pomp and rejoicings.

But Alexander when established in the kingdom, fell into the same fatal excesses as his predecessors. He abandoned the cares of government to his favourite, Ammonius, that he might enjoy a luxurious life undisturbed. Ammonius showed himself a tyrant. He slew Laodice, the sister of Demetrius, and the unfortunate widow of Perseus, king of Macedonia, and Antigonus, a son of Demetrius. But there still lived in Cnidus, in Crete, two sons of Demetrius, namely, Demetrius and Antiochus, whence Alexander was not secure on the throne of Syria.

When Ammonius had made himself and Alexander odious to the Syrians, B. C. 148, young Demetrius landed at Cilicia, and soon collected a great army, with which to assert his right to the crown. He also gained over Apollonius, governor of Cœlo-Syria, to his interest, whose first proof of attachment to his new master was the invasion of Judea, which adhered to Alexander. Jonathan came down from the mountains into the plain of the coast, and after taking Joppa before his eyes, defeated Apollonius with severe loss. Jonathan then subdued Ashdod, and Ascalon opened her gates to the conqueror. For this essential service Alexander rewarded Jonathan with a golden clasp, or buckle, such as the royal family only might wear, and bestowed upon him the territory of Ekron.

When Demetrius invaded Syria, Alexander shut himself

up in his capital, Antioch, and applied for succour to his friend and father-in-law, Ptolemy Philometer, who accordingly brought a considerable army and fleet to his assistance, B. C. 147. Ptolemy entered Syria; but having discovered a plot formed against his life, by the favourite Ammonius, and Balas refusing to deliver him up, Ptolemy took away his daughter Cleopatra, and bestowed her on Demetrius, whose cause he thenceforth espoused. This decided the contest. The citizens mutinied against Ammonius, and slew him, and Alexander Balas only avoided a similar fate by flight.

The Syrians now offered the crown to Ptolemy Philometer, but he refused it; and upon his intercession, it was placed on the head of Demetrius. B. C. 146.

DEMETRIUS NICATOR.

When Alexander Balas fled from Antioch, he retired to Cilicia; from whence, having assembled a numerous army, he advanced to Antioch, to dispute the throne with Demetrius. He was met in the neighbourhood of that city by Demetrius and Ptolemy, and an engagement ensued, in which Alexander was vanquished, and the throne thereby established to his competitor. Alexander fled into Arabia; but his host, the emir Zabdiel, treacherously slew him, and sent his head to the king of Egypt, who died himself the third day after, of the wounds he had received. It was from the victory gained over Alexander, that Demetrius derived his surname, *Nicator*, or "the Conqueror."

Being established on the throne of Syria, Demetrius chose Lasthenes, the Cretan friend with whom he had found an asylum, and whom he considered as a father, his prime minister. This was an unwise measure; for Lasthenes was both imprudent and inexperienced, and therefore unfit to be at the helm of a state. His first false step was the massacre of the Egyptian soldiers, whom Ptolemy had left to assist in garrisoning the fortresses in the maritime towns; these being put to death by their Syrian associates, the rest of the Egyptian army returned to Egypt, refusing to support Demetrius. After this, at the instigation of Lasthenes, a strict search was made for those who had been adverse to Demetrius or his father, in the late conflict, and they were all put to death. Deeming himself secure, Demetrius, by a false economy, disbanded the greatest part of his army, retaining in his pay only his Cretan

band, and some other mercenaries; thereby weakening the stability of his throne.

In the mean while, Jonathan besieged the citadel of Jerusalem, which the Syrians and apostate Jews still held in their possession. Complaint of this operation having reached Demetrius, he cited Jonathan to Ptolemais to answer for his conduct. Jonathan obeyed the summons, but left orders that the siege should be vigorously prosecuted in his absence. He took with him rich presents for the king and his ministers, by which he so won the favour of Demetrius, that he confirmed him in the priesthood, with all his other honours, and also ratified the offers of his father, which Jonathan had once declined for the friendship of Alexander Balas.

As the citadel of Jerusalem still held out, Jonathan applied to Demetrius to withdraw the garrisons from it; and also from Bethsura. Demetrius promised to comply with this request, provided Jonathan would send him a reinforcement to quell a dangerous disturbance which had broken out at Antioch. Jonathan rendered the required services; but when Demetrius deemed himself secure, he repaid his services with ingratitude. He violated his engagements at Ptolemais, demanded taxes, tribute, and tolls as before, and thus alienated the Jews as effectually as his other subjects.

Alexander Balas left a son called Antiochus, whom the Arabian emir, Zabdiel, retained in his hands when he slew the father. At this critical juncture, Diodotus, afterwards denominated Tryphon, the former governor of Atioch under Alexander Balas, went into Arabia and prevailed upon Zabdiel to send the young prince with him to claim the crown of Syria. This scheme was crowned with success. Antiochus was received by the malcontents and disbanded soldiers with joy, and in a battle that ensued, Demetrius was defeated, his elephants taken, and Antioch lost. B. C. 144.

ANTIOCHUS THEOS II.

Antiochus was crowned under the title of Theos, which had been borne by a predecessor. As soon as this ceremony was over, Tryphon wrote in his name to invite the co-operation of Jonathan, and offered in return all the conditions broken by Demetrius, and the appointment of his brother Simon to the royal governorship of the district extending from the mountains between Tyre and Ptolemais to the borders of Egypt. These conditions were excepted, and Jonathan ex-

pelled, with the assistance of the Syrian forces, the hostile garrisons from Gaza, Bethsura, and Joppa. The citadel at Jerusalem, however, still held out for Demetrius, and maintained a long siege.

Tryphon had contemplated the advancement of the youthful Antiochus, merely as a means of obtaining the crown of Syria for his own brow. In his judgment, things were now ripe for putting this plan into execution, if Jonathan could be removed. This he soon effected. He invaded Palestine, and had advanced as far as Bethshan, when being intimidated by the appearance of Jonathan with 40,000 men, he pretended that his intentions were peaceable, and that he had entered the country solely with the view of putting him in possession of Ptolemais. The Jewish hero credited his tale, and dismissed his army, except 3000 men, 2000 of whom he left in Galilee, and advanced with the other thousand to take possession of Ptolemais. This was a fatal step. Jonathan had no sooner entered Ptolemais, than the city gates were shut, his men cut in pieces, and himself laden with chains. Soon after, the Jewish hero was put to death by the perfidious Tryphon, together with the young monarch. Tryphon adorned his brows with the blood-stained crown. B. C. 143.

TRYPHON.

On ascending the throne of Syria, Tryphon sought to establish himself thereon by an alliance with Rome. For this purpose, he sent them a magnificent embassy, with a golden statue of Victory. But he was disappointed in his views. The Romans accepted the statue, and caused the name of Antiochus, whom he had assassinated, to be engraved thereon, as though the present came from him.

During this period Demetrius had been luxuriating in pleasure at Laodicea. At length, however, B. C. 141, being joined by Simon, whom the Jews had placed at their head on the death of Jonathan, and being invited by deputies from the east, he recovered somewhat from his lethargy. He invaded the eastern provinces, which had revolted, with a great army, and was at first successful; but he was at last surprised by Mithridates, a valiant and wise prince, who then reigned over the Parthians, who defeated him, and detained him prisoner during ten years.

During his captivity, Demetrius having married Rhodogune, the sister of the Parthian king, his queen, Cleopatra,

who had fled to Seleucia for protection against the usurper, offered the crown of Syria to his brother, Antiochus, afterwards called *Sidetes*, from his passion for hunting, on condition that he would marry her. Antiochus accepted the offer, and assumed the title of king.

As a preparatory measure, Antiochus wrote a letter, next year, B. C. 140, from Cyprus, where he had remained after his brother's accession, to Simon, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, announcing his intention of coming to recover his father's dominions from Tryphon; and to secure his assistance, he confirmed all the grants of his father, and of his brother, in their full extent, together with the privilege of coining money, a privilege which seemed wanting to complete the secondary independence which the Jewish rulers had by this time attained.

The next year, B. C. 139, Antiochus landed in Syria, to attack Tryphon, whose tyrannies had been such, that on the appearance of his opponent, he was deserted by most of his forces. Thus shorn of power, Tryphon fled to Dora, on the coast of Palestine. Antiochus pursued him thither, but he fled by sea to Orthosia, a maritime town of Phenicia, and from thence to Apamea, where he was captured and put to death.

ANTIOCHUS SIDETES.

Having no rival to contend with, Antiochus Sidetes early formed a plan of reducing all the cities of Syria, which taking advantage of the late trouble, had shaken off the yoke, and made themselves independent. This he accomplished, and elated with success, and forgetting the services of Simon and the Jews against his rival, he broke his engagement with them, reclaimed the citadel of Jerusalem, the cities of Joppa and Gazara, or else to pay 500 talents for each of the latter, and 500 more for the arrears of tribute from those cities beyond the limits of Judea, of which the Jews had gained possession, and on account of ravages committed by them in his dominions. At the same time, Antiochus sent Cendebeus, with a powerful army, to invade Judea; but he was defeated by the Jews, under John Hyrcanus and Judas, the two sons of Simon, and the Syrians were expelled the country.

Defeated in this quarter and compelled to sign terms of peace, Antiochus prepared to march with a powerful army against Phraates, king of Parthia, under pretence of rescuing

his brother, Demetrius Nicator, from captivity; but in reality to recover some provinces recently usurped by the Parthians. At first, Antiochus had great success. He thrice defeated Phraates, and retook Babylonia and Media, B. C. 141. The next year, however, the inhabitants of the east, who had been grievously oppressed by his army, taking advantage of their separation while in winter quarters, conspired with the Parthians, and pitilessly massacred Antiochus, with almost his whole army.

After this third defeat, Phraates had set Demetrius at liberty, and sent him with a body of troops, in order to make a diversion in Syria, that Antiochus might be induced to relinquish his enterprise. Upon the news of this massacre, he sent to retake Demetrius; but he had made such speed that he escaped the pursuit, and on his re-appearance in Syria, coupled with the news of the death of his brother, he again recovered his crown. A. D. 130.

SECOND NOTICE OF DEMETRIUS NICATOR.

The first act of Demetrius after his resumption of the crown of Syria, was to march an army into Egypt, at the invitation of Cleopatra against Ptolemy Physcon. As he was besieging Pelusium, however, he was recalled by the news of a revolt at Antioch, Apamea, and other cities, which he hastened to put down. He was unsuccessful. In order to be revenged upon him for his invasion of Egypt, Ptolemy Physcon fomented the revolt by setting up an impostor against him, called Alexander Zebina, who was the son of a broker at Alexandria. A battle was fought, in which Demetrius was defeated, and soon after he was slain at Tyre, whither he resorted for refuge, by the treacherous governor. B. C. 126.

On the flight of Demetrius, his rival, Alexander Zebina, put on the crown of Syria; but he did not obtain the whole of the kingdom, as part was retained by Cleopatra, widow of the two last brother kings, and Alexander Balas.

ALEXANDER ZEBINA.

The ensuing history of the Seleucidæ, observes Heeren, is a picture of civil wars, family feuds, and deeds of horror, such as are scarcely to be paralleled. One of the leading actors in these events was Cleopatra. Seleucus, her eldest son, had been proclaimed king by her, that her cause might be

strengthened; but when, in the twentieth year of his age, B. C. 124, he manifested a desire to reign, she slew him with a javelin by her own hands.

Alexander Zebina strengthened his cause by an alliance with John Hyrcanus, who availed himself of the troubles in Syria to confirm his independence, and enlarge his dominion. Zebinas, however, could not long maintain his position. Refusing to do homage to Ptolemy Physcon for the crown of Syria, that monarch came to an agreement with Cleopatra, his niece, gave his daughter Tryphon in marriage to her son Antiochus, surnamed Grypus, or "hook-nosed," and sent an army into Syria to drive Zebina from his throne. A battle was fought, in which Zebina was defeated, and ultimately he fell into the hands of Ptolemy, by whom he was put to death.

By the issue of this battle, Cleopatra became mistress of all Syria. B. C. 120.

ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS.

The youngest son of Cleopatra, Antiochus Grypus, was now nominally seated on the throne. Soon after, finding that Grypus was also disposed to claim the power as well as the name of king, Cleopatra prepared poison for him; but having been forewarned of her design, the young king compelled her to drink the potion herself, which put an end to her wicked career.

During eight years after the death of his mother, Antiochus Grypus reigned in peace. At the end of that time, a half-brother, whom his mother had borne to Antiochus Sidetes, and who had been brought up at Cyzicus on the Propontis, whence his name of Antiochus Cyzicenus, appeared as a competitor for the crown; and after various conflicts, the brothers agreed, in B. C. 112, to divide the empire between them.

It was during this struggle that Tryphena, wife of Grypus, demanded and obtained the murder of her sister, Cleopatra, wife of Antiochus Cyzicenes, as related in the History of the Egyptians.

ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS AND ANTIOCHUS CYZICENUS.

In virtue of this division of the empire, Antiochus Grypus reigned at Antioch, and Antiochus Cyzicenus at Damascus, having for his portion Clælo-Syria and Phenicia.

In this peaceful interval the brothers abandoned themselves to those evil excesses in which the fallen nature of man delights. During the period of their licentiousness, and the preceding storm of war, John Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, increased his power to such an extent, that he became one of the most powerful princes of his age. Judea, Galilee, Samaria, with many frontier places in the neighbouring countries, owned his sway. When the conqueror besieged Samaria, Antiochus Cyzicenus marched to its relief; but he was met on the way by a detachment of the Jewish army under the command of Aristobulus, and totally routed, which victory raised the glory of the Asamonean princes to its height.

The peace between Antiochus Grypus and his brother, Antiochus Cyzicenus, was not of long continuance. They again flew to arms, and while they were struggling for sole empire, Tyre, Sidon, Ptolemais, and Gaza, shook off the Syrian yoke; while Theodorus caused himself to be acknowledged sovereign of Gadara and Amathus, and Zoilus possessed himself of Dora and Straton's Tower, with other places and towns.

During these distractions, B. C. 97, Grypus was assassinated by Heracleon, one of his vassals, after having reigned twenty-five years. He left five sons, Seleucus Nicator, the eldest, by whom he was succeeded; Antiochus and Philip, twins; Demetrius Euchares; and Antiochus Dionysius.

SELEUCUS NICATOR II. AND ANTIOCHUS CYZICENUS.

On the death of his brother Grypus, Antiochus Cyzicenus seized Antioch, and redoubled his efforts to possess himself of the whole empire. But Seleucus, who was in possession of many strong cities, maintained himself against his uncle, and supported his rights. He met him in battle, defeated him, took him prisoner, and put him to death.

Seleucus now entered Antioch, and saw himself in possession of the whole empire of Syria. But it soon slipped away from him. Antiochus Eusebes, son of Cyzicenus, who made his escape from Antioch when Seleucus entered, retired to Aradus, in Phenicia, where he caused himself to be proclaimed king. From thence, B. C. 93, he marched at the head of a large army, engaged Seleucus, and obliged him to shut himself up in Mopsuestia, a city of Cilicia, and abandon the rest to the conqueror.

ANTIOCHUS EUSEBES.

The cause of the fugitive prince, Seleucus, was at first espoused by the Mopsuestians with much zeal; but Seleucus having burdened them with taxes, they revolted, and investing the palace in which he resided, set fire to it, and he and all his attendants perished in the flames.

Upon the death of Seleucus, his twin brothers, Antiochus and Philip, led all the troops they could collect against Mopsuestia, took it by assault, put all the inhabitants to the sword, and razed it to the ground. On their return, however, they were encountered by Eusebes, on the banks of the Orontes, and their forces defeated. Antiochus perished in attempting to swim over the Orontes on horseback; but Philip, having made a judicious retreat, and kept his forces together, was enabled yet to dispute empire with Eusebes.

The better to establish himself upon the throne of Damascus, Eusebes had married Selene, the widow of Grypus. This gave offence to Ptolemy Lathyrus, king of Egypt, whose wife she had been till compelled by his mother, Cleopatra, to divorce her; and that prince sent to Cnidas, for Demetrius Euchares, the fourth son of Grypus, and made him king of Damascus. Neither Philip nor Eusebes were at liberty to oppose the new king, being engaged in war against each other. Philip, however, daily gained strength, and at length defeated Eusebes, obliging him to quit Syria, and take refuge among the Parthians, by which victory the Syrian empire was divided between Philip and Demetrius Euchares.

PHILIP AND DEMETRIUS EUCHARES.

The brothers commenced their reign in peace; but peace was of short duration. Demetrius, ambitious of possessing the whole empire, raised an army, and chased his brother from the throne of Antioch. He fled to Straton, who was lord of Beroza, now Aleppo, and who, with the assistance of Zizus, an Arabian king, and the Parthian Mithridates, revenged the wrongs done to Philip. In a battle fought with Demetrius, he was taken prisoner, and sent as a present to the king of Parthia, in whose dominions he died.

After this victory, Philip resumed his rule at Antioch. But peace was not for him. Eusebes, probably supported by the Parthian king, invaded the Syrian provinces bordering on Parthia, and quickly overran them. Philip hastened to oppose

him; but while he was thus engaged in the north, a new rival appeared in the south. Antiochus Dionysius, brother of Philip, and the youngest of the five sons of Grypus, seized on Cœlo-Syria, and chose Damascus for the seat of empire.

PHILIP AND ANTIOCHUS DIONYSIUS.

On ascending the throne, Antiochus Dionysius engaged in a war with Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa, leaving his dominions at the mercy of Philip, who, by the treachery of Milesius, commander of the castle, made himself master of Damascus. Milesius expected a large reward for his treachery, and being disappointed, the first time Philip left the city he shut the gates against him, and kept the place for Dionysius, and delivered it up to him on his return out of Arabia. Philip then retired to Antioch, and Antiochus returned to renew the war in Arabia.

In this second expedition, Antiochus Dionysius led his army along the coasts of Palestine. Alexander Jannæus, now high priest, could not regard his approach with composure; whence, to intercept his march, he dug an intrenchment from Chabarzaba, afterwards Antipatras, to the sea, about sixteen miles, and he provided it with a wall and wooden towers, and garrisoned it with soldiers. But Antiochus burned the towers, forced his way through the garrison, and marched into Arabia, where he perished.

On the death of Antiochus, the Damascenes invited to the throne the very Arabian emir with whom they had been at war. This new king undertook an expedition against Alexander Jannæus, whom he defeated at Adida; but a treaty was afterwards concluded, and he retired from Judea.

At length, the Syrians grew weary of the continual and ruinous contests of the Seleucidian princes, and in order to get rid of them, they offered the crown of Syria to Tigranes, king of Armenia, which was accepted. B. C. 84.

TIGRANES.

When Tigranes took possession of the country, Philip fled, and Antiochus Eusebes withdrew to Cilicia, where he lived in obscurity until his death. Selene, wife of Eusebes, however, retained Ptolemais, with part of Cœlo-Syria and Phenicia, where she brought up her two sons, Antiochus Asiaticus and Seleucus Cybiosactes. On the death of Ptolemy La-

thyrus, king of Egypt, Selene put in her claim to the crown, and sent her two sons to Rome to propitiate the senate in her favour. Being disappointed in her aim, she endeavoured to enlarge her dominions in Syria, and prevailed upon many cities to revolt from Tigranes. This produced a war. Tigranes entered Syria at the head of a large army, and having compelled Selene to shut herself up in Ptolemais, he laid siege to that place, reduced it, and captured Selene, and put her to death.

After this victory, Tigranes ruled over Syria in peace till the great war of the Romans in Asia Minor, against Mithridates, king of Pontus. Tigranes was early involved in this war, and in B. C. 69, he was compelled to withdraw his forces, to contend with the Romans nearer home.

ANTIOCHUS ASIATICUS.

The withdrawal of the forces of Tigranes from Syria, gave Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Selene and Antiochus Eusebes, an opportunity of seizing the government; and having contracted an alliance with Lucullus, the Roman general, he contrived to retain a part of the empire, until the arrival of Pompey in the east, B. C. 65. Antiochus Asiaticus humbly sued to be confirmed in his kingdom; but Pompey refused, on the pretext that he was unable to defend the country against the Jews and Arabs, and that the Romans having overcome Tigranes, Syria belonged to Rome by right of conquest. His dominions, therefore, together with Phenicia, became a Roman province.

Thus, in the person of Antiochus Asiaticus, was deposed the last of a regal dynasty, descended from Seleucus Nicator, which had ruled Syria for 247 years; that is, from B. C. 321, to B. C. 65.

"Power to the oppressors of the world is given,
A might of which they dream not. Oh! the curse,
To be the awakener of divinest thoughts,
Father and founder of exalted deeds;
And, to whole nations bound in servile straits,
The liberal donor of capacities
More than heroic! this to be, nor yet
Have sense of one connatural wish, nor yet
Deserve the least return of human thanks;
Winning no recompense but deadly hate
With pity mixed, astonishment with scorn!"

* * * * *

So Providence is served; but,

> The forked weapon of the skies can send
> Illumination into deep, dark holds,
> Which the mild sunbeam hath not power to pierce.
>
> WORDSWORTH.

These lines are strikingly illustrative of the history of the Seleucidæ. Power and empire were given unto this dynasty over their fellow men, above that of the surrounding nations. Their horn of power, branching out of the broken horn of Alexander, was stronger than that of its three compeers, representing Thrace, Egypt, and Macedonia. The eastern world owned their sway, kings bowed down to them, and cities arose at their command. But there their glory ceases. Mankind were to them but instruments to serve their ambition and their evil passions. Had the Seleucidæ been a race of able and enlightened princes, they might have diffused the lights of literature, arts, and science, over the regions of the east, and dispelled the gloom of ignorance with which it has ever been covered. But such was not their character. Throughout their whole history, war and the din of war rings its awful sounds in the ears of the reader. Jew and Gentile, strangers and their own subjects, were alike, in turns, the objects of their pursuit in the field of battle. Nor were their nearest kindred forgotten in this destruction. Their latter history affords a sickening picture of human nature. It was truly a house divided against itself. At length, their subjects, burning with deadly hatred towards their race, spurned them from the throne with scorn. Providence was on their side. Events were so marvellously brought about, that by a sudden and easy transition, their empire passed into the hands of others. That great and terrible wild beast with iron teeth and ten horns, Rome, rampant for empire, seized upon Syria as lawful prey.

"Verily he is a God that judgeth in the earth," Psa. lviii. 11.

THE

HISTORY OF THE PARTHIANS.

THE COUNTRY AND CITIES OF PARTHIA.

Parthia, called by Strabo and Arrian Parthyæa, originally comprised a small and mountainous country south-east of the Caspian Sea, between Hyrcania and Aria; but the name was frequently applied to the countries included in the latter Parthian empire. This empire was divided into satrapies, eighteen of which are enumerated, and it comprised likewise several small kingdoms, which preserved their own rulers, only that they were tributary, such as Persis.

It is difficult to define the boundaries of Parthia Proper, as they differed at various times. In the days of Strabo, Parthia extended on the west as far as Rhagæ and the Tapuri, to the Caspian passes, and included the districts of Komisene (Kumis) and Choarene (Khuar.) According to Pliny, it was bounded on the east by the Arii; on the south by the Carmanii and Ariani; on the west by the Pratitæ; and on the north by the Hyrcani. The chief city of Parthia was Hecatompylos, so called because of its hundred gates, or because all the roads in the Parthian dominions entered here. Quintus Curtius says, that it was founded by the Greeks; but the name, which is Greek, is probably only a translation of a native word. This was the metropolis of the empire, and the place where the first kings resided; but after they made themselves masters of Assyria, they passed the winter at Ctesiphon, a town on the eastern bank of the Tigris, a little below Seleucia, and the summer at Ecbatana, in Hyrcania.

In the days of the glory of the Persian empire, Parthia was

one of its provinces. By Herodotus the Parthians are classed in the sixteenth satrapy, along with the Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Arians; that is, the people of Khowarazm, Samarcand, and Herat. He does not, however, mention the particular province which these Parthians inhabited. See the History of the Persians.

THE ORIGIN, GOVERNMENT, ETC., OF THE PARTHIANS.

The origin of the Parthians has long been a matter of dispute among the learned, the name Parthia and Parthians being unknown to Asiatic historians. European writers generally consider them as Scythian exiles, and assert that the term, in the ancient Scythian language, is significant of their wandering. Amongst these writers may be enumerated the authors of the Ancient Universal History, Ferguson, Rennel, Pinkerton, Gibbon, Bochart, and Heeren. None of these, however, have been able to trace the etymology of the word; and if they had, it might still remain a question, whether that appellation was assumed by the Parthians, or given them as a term of reproach by their Scythian neighbours.

Both ancient and modern authors differ greatly as to the particular tribe of Scythians to which the Parthians belonged. The authors of the Ancient Universal History say, that they were Gomerians, or Celts; others will have them to have been originally Dahæ; others, Getæ, or Massagetæ, who were the eastern, or Asiatic Scythians; while Jornandes says they were Goths, and Heeren hints, that their origin was probably Tartarian. Strabo says, that Arsaces, the first Parthian king who revolted from Antiochus Theos, was a Scythian of the tribe of the Parni Dahæ, who dwelt on the south-east angle of the Caspian Sea, adjacent to Hyrcania; and yet, in another place of his geography, he asserts, that the Parthians who dwelt upon the banks of the Tigris were formerly called Carduchi.

The practice of the Parthian horsemen, shooting their arrows backwards with unerring aim, while in full flight from a pursuing foe, is deemed, by Dr. Forster, a decisive evidence that they were descended from the warriors of Scythia. This is refuted by Rennel, who says, that the practice was as much Persian as Parthian, as may be gathered from the Anabasis of Xenophon, although it be very commonly referred to the Parthians alone; perhaps because it was so fatally experienced by the Roman army under Crassus. The Roman poets, who could never forget the fatal consequences of this method

of discharging their arrows, frequently allude to it in their pages. Thus Virgil says,

> With backward bows the Parthians shall be there,
> And, spurring from the fight, confess their fear.
>
> GEORGIC III.

And Horace:

> The Roman dreads the Parthian's speed,
> His flying war and backward reed;
> While death unheeded, sweeps away
> The world, his everlasting sway.

By this latter poet, the Parthians are called Medes:

> Nor let the Median with unpunished pride,
> Beyond his bounds, O Cesar, dare to ride.

In another ode he calls them Persians:

> Already the fierce Mede (or Persian) his* arms reveres,
> Which wide extend the imperial sway,
> And bid the unwilling world obey:
> The haughty Indian owns his fears,
> And Scythians, doubtful of their doom,
> Await the dread resolves of Rome.

After all the learned dust that has been scattered abroad on this question, it would appear that the Parthians were not derived from a distant country. There is nothing in their manners, customs, religion, military discipline, or titles of the Parthian sovereigns, that can lead to the supposition that they were of Scythian descent. All these they possessed in common with the Median and Persian tribes, who previously to them had the ruling power in Persia. They were, in fact, one of those numerous tribes which had from time immemorial dwelt in that extensive region. The very sense, says an eminent critic in geography, in which Strabo calls the Parthians Carduchians, is the same in which, in modern times, the Scotch, Welsh, and Irish, are often called English, after the inhabitants of the largest country; and that geographer places Parthia, and the people so called, in the same place where Herodotus had placed them four centuries before. No facts, sufficiently satisfactory, have yet been adduced to prove that the Parthians were originally a Scythian clan, so that they may be safely classed among the indigenous natives of Eeran, or Persia, in its largest acceptation.

* This refers to Cesar.

The Romans represent the sovereigns of the Parthians as exceedingly proud and haughty, assuming the title of king of kings, like the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs before them. The same title was also assumed by the Sassanian monarchs: and, indeed, the title has been always used by the sovereigns of Persia of every dynasty. At the present day, the title of "Shah in Shah," or king of kings, is assumed by the sovereigns of that country. Both Greek and Roman writers accuse the Parthian monarchs of demanding and receiving divine honours. Thus, in allusion to the order which is maintained in a community of bees by mere instinct, Virgil says,

> Not Egypt, India, Parthia, Media, more
> With servile awe their idol king adore.—GEORGIC IV.

These authors, however, forget that their own sovereigns and rulers sometimes claimed similar honours, and that they were commonly admitted into heaven, according to their mythology, as soon as dead, and ranked among the gods!

The government of the Parthians was in every respect the same as that of the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, and Persians—absolute and despotic in the highest degree. Their whole conduct was answerable to the lofty titles they assumed; for, not satisfied with the respect due to majesty, they obliged all those whom they deigned to honour with an interview, to kiss the threshold, on their first entering the palace; to prostrate themselves before them, with their faces on the ground; and to acknowledge their majesty with some offering, as though they appeared, says Dio, before the great Jupiter.

The constitution of the Parthians, says Heeren, was monarchal-aristocratic, something like that of the Poles, in the period of the Jagellons. At the king's side sat a supreme state council, (*senatus*, in all probability what was called the *megistanes*,) who had the power of deposing the king, and the privilege, it is supposed, of confirming his accession previous to the ceremony of coronation performed by the field-marshals (*surenas*.) The right of succession was only so far determined as belonging to the house of the Arsacidæ: the many pretenders to which this uncertainty gave rise produced factions and domestic wars, doubly injurious to the empire when fomented and shared by foreigners. Success did not accompany the arms of Rome herself against Parthia, until she had discovered the art of raising her own parties within the kingdom itself, by lending her support to pretenders.

The religion of the Parthians was the same with that of the Persians. The sun, alike with the fire their own hands kindled, were the objects of their adoration. They believed that those who fell in battle enjoyed perpetual happiness; a belief that stimulated them to the deadly strife of war, and that tended to smother the kindlier feelings of humanity. They were observers of their word, thinking it highly dishonourable to violate their engagements, or to deceive. In this respect, they deserve our imitation; for truth is the bond of union, and the basis of human happiness. Without this virtue, there is no reliance upon language, no confidence in friendship, no security in promises and oaths. A Christian poet says:

> Sieze upon truth, where'er 'tis found,
> Amongst your friends, amongst your foes,
> On *Christian*, or on *heathen* ground:
> The flower's divine where'er it grows.—WATTS.

That was a wise saying of Aristotle: We gain nothing by lying, but the disadvantage of not being credited when we speak the truth. Christians are more especially bound to practise this virtue: "Wherefore putting away lying," says the apostle Paul to the Ephesian converts, and to us also, "speak every man truth with his neighbour:" and he adds, as a reason for adopting this holy line of conduct, emphatically, "for we are members one of another," Eph. iv. 25. Reader, in all thy actions, adopt this golden rule.

The Parthians were a very warlike people, and they were esteemed the best horsemen and archers in the world; to which allusion has already been made. The consul Crassus, when being told by an astrologer that his expeditions against the Parthians would prove unsuccessful, by reason of the ominous aspect of the constellation Scorpio, humorously replied, that he did not fear Scorpio, but Sagittarius, or the Archer. To their exercises of horsemanship and archery, the air and country greatly contributed, for the dry air, as Dio observes, seasoned their bows, and their plains afforded scope for training horses. From the age of twenty to fifty, they were all obliged to learn the military exercises, and to be ready at a short warning to take the field.

There is one remarkable fact noticed by the Roman historians respecting the Parthian armies; namely, the use of drums. They did not use trumpets, like other nations, but large hollow vessels of brass, covered with skins, such as our

kettledrums, which, being beat with hammers, yielded a warlike sound.

The Parthians were so engrossed in the fearful art of war, that they utterly neglected agriculture, navigation, commerce, and the useful arts. On this subject, Heeren remarks: "With regard to Asiatic commerce, the Parthian supremacy was of importance, inasmuch as it interrupted the direct intercourse between the western and eastern countries; it being a maxim of the Parthians, not to grant a passage through their country to any stranger. The destruction of the trade occurs in the third period of the empire, being a natural result of the many wars with Rome, and the distrust thence ensuing. The East India trade, in consequence, took another road, through Palmyra and Alexandria, which were indebted to it for their splendour and prosperity. It is probable that this was the reason why excessive luxury took less hold on the Parthians than on the other ruling nations of Asia, notwithstanding their predilection for Grecian manners and literature, at that time generally prevalent throughout the east.

THE KINGDOM OF THE PARTHIANS.

ARSACES, OR ARSHAK, OR ASCHEK.

Arsaces was the founder of the Parthian monarchy. According to some oriental writers, he was of the royal Persian race of the Achemenidæ, and a descendant of Darius Codomannus; according to others, by birth a Parthian. Strabo says, that he was the king of the Dahæ before the revolt of Parthia; and Syncellus, that he was a nobleman of Bactria.

It has been seen in the History of the Seleucidæ, that Arsaces revolted from the rule of the Syrian monarchs, and established himself on the throne of Parthia. It is from this epoch that the Parthians reckoned the recovery of their liberty, and hence the commencement of the Parthian empire is dated B. C. 229.

After this, Arsaces reduced Hyrcania, and some of the neighbouring provinces, and was slain, at last, after seven years' reign, according to Khondemir, in a battle with Ariar-

thes IV., king of Cappadocia. B. C. 222. He was succeeded by a son of the same name.

ARSACES, OR ARSHAK II.

Arsaces II. carried on a fierce war with Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, who at length relinquished to him the provinces of Parthia and Hyrcania, on the condition of assisting him to recover the rest. (See the History of the Seleucidæ, page 287.) He died B. C. 195, and was succeeded by his son.

PRIAPATIUS, OR SCHABOUR, OR PADESHAHI BUZUSK,

concerning whom nothing more is known than that he reigned fifteen years, and left three sons behind him, namely, Phraates, Mithridates, and Artabanus. Priapatius bequeathed his crown to his eldest son, Phraates. B. C. 287.

PHRAATES, OR BAHARAM, OR FIROUZ.

Phraates is said to have reduced the Mardi, one of the most warlike nations of the east, who lived unsubdued till the days of Alexander. He also reduced other Median tribes. He died B. C. 168, after a reign of twelve years.

Phraates left many children; but having the welfare of the kingdom at heart, he bequeathed the crown to his brother, who had given many instances of wisdom, probity, and courage.

MITHRIDATES, OR FIROUZ.

Mithridates reduced the Bactrians, Persians, Medes, Elamites, and extended his dominions into India, even beyond the conquests of Alexander. He also defeated, and took Demetrius Nicator, king of Syria, prisoner, B. C. 141, and obtained possession of Mesopotamia and Babylonia; so that he became master of all the provinces between the Euphrates and the Ganges.

The reign of Mithridates is usually considered as the summit of Parthian grandeur; and he excelled not less as a statesman and legislator, than as a warrior. But neither his wisdom nor his valour could ward off the blow of the irresistible conqueror, death: he died B. C. 131, bequeathing his crown to his son Phraates, or Firouz.

PHRAATES, OR FIROUZ II.

Immediately after the accession of Phraates, his kingdom was invaded by Antiochus Sidetes, under pretence of delivering his brother Demetrius from captivity. Sidetes was at first successful, and stripped Phraates of all the conquests in the late reign, and confined him to the circumscribed limits of the first Parthian kingdom. Afterwards, however, Phraates retrieved his affairs, and cut off Sidetes with his army. See the History of the Seleucidæ, page 334.

Flushed with this victory, Phraates resolved to invade Syria; but while he was making the necessary preparations, he became involved in a war at home with his Scythian neighbours. He had called this people to his assistance against Sidetes; but that prince being overcome, he refused to pay them for their services. Enraged at his conduct, the Scythians fell upon his country, and committed the most fearful ravages on every hand. In order to strengthen himself against so powerful an enemy, Phraates took into his service all the Greek mercenaries who had been made prisoners at the overthrow of Sidetes. This was a fatal measure. The Greeks had been treated by the Parthians with great barbarity during their captivity, and resolved to revenge themselves upon that people. Accordingly, in the first engagement, they went over to the Scythians in a body, and in conjunction with them they destroyed the Parthian army, killed Phraates, and desolated his dominions. B. C. 334.

Having satiated their revenge, both the Greeks and Scythians returned to their own countries.

ARTABANUS, OR ARDEVAN.

Artabanus, or Ardevan, uncle of the deceased monarch, took possession of the crown; but he was slain also, not many days after, by a Scythian tribe of the Thogarians.

Artabanus was succeeded by his son.

PACORUS.

Pacorus, hearing of the exploits of the Romans, sent ambassadors to Sylla, then, about B. C. 93, in Cappadocia, whither he had been sent by the Roman senate, to reinstate Ariobarzanes in his kingdom, after he had been dethroned by Tigranes, king of Armenia. The Parthians, though the most warlike and wealthy nation in Asia, were at that time

little known to the Romans: Sylla was, therefore, overjoyed at the circumstance of receiving ambassadors from so gallant a nation. In his audience, he affected great state. Assuming the middle seat of honour, he placed Ariobarzanes on his right hand, and the Parthian ambassador on his left. This gave offence to Parthian majesty. On the return of the ambassador, Pacorus caused him to be beheaded, for degrading the dignity of the Parthian monarch to a Roman prætor. Notwithstanding, he renewed the alliance with Lucullus, another Roman prætor, about B. C. 69.

Pacorus reigned during a period of fifty-three years; he died B. C. 68, and his son ascended the throne.

PHRAATES III., OR, KHOSROU.

In the beginning of his reign, Phraates espoused the cause of Tigranes, son of Tigranes the Great, king of Armenia. He gave him his daughter in marriage, and, invading Armenia, laid siege to Artaxata on his behalf; but when Pompey approached, about B. C. 66, he deemed it advisable to renew with him the alliance which his father had made at first with Sylla, and afterwards with Lucullus.

Phraates was murdered, after a reign of twelve years, by his own sons Orodes and Mithridates, B. C. 56.

ORODES.

The elder brother first took possession of the throne, but he was soon expelled by Mithridates, his brother, and partner in crime.

MITHRIDATES II.

The reign of Mithridates was brief. He rendered himself odious by his cruelties, and was in his turn obliged to abandon the kingdom, and take shelter with Gabinius, governor of Syria.

SECOND NOTICE OF ORODES.

On the flight of Mithridates, Orodes was replaced on the throne by the *surena*, or generalissimo of the Parthian troops. Gabinius was persuaded to undertake the restoration of Mithridates; but after he had passed the Euphrates, being offered a princely sum to restore Ptolemy Auletes to the throne of

Egypt, the corrupt governor abandoned Mithridates. Rendered desperate by his misfortunes, Mithridates collected what forces he could, and retired into Seleucia, where he was besieged by his brother Orodes, who forced him to surrender, and cruelly put him to death, being himself an eye-witness of his execution.

Soon after his re-establishment on the throne, B. C. 54, Orodes was unexpectedly invaded, in a time of profound peace, by the Roman proconsul Crassus, through motives of the most sordid avarice. Having crossed the Euphrates by a bridge of boats, Crassus entered the Parthian territories, and commenced hostilities. Having made no preparation for their defence, the Parthians were easily driven out of all Mesopotamia. But there his conquests ended. By some strange blunder, instead of pursuring his career, Crassus repassed the Euphrates in the beginning of the autumn, leaving only 7000 foot and 1000 horse to garrison the places he had taken: he put his army into winter quarters in Syria. This hasty retreat gave the Parthians time to recover from their terror, and to collect forces for their defence.

The issue of this unjust invasion of Parthia was most disastrous to the invader. In the next campaign, B. C. 53, Crassus, with his son and the greatest part of his army, were destroyed at Carrhæ, in Mesopotamia, chiefly by the policy of the *surena*, or generalissimo of the Parthian forces. It is said that the Romans lost 20,000 men killed, and 10,000 who were taken prisoners in this campaign. The prisoners continued in captivity among the Parthians, and contracting marriages, became identified with them, as may be learned from Horace. Deploring the degeneracy of his country, he says,

> O name of country, once how sacred deem'd;
> O sad reverse of manners, once esteem'd!
> While Rome her ancient majesty maintain'd,
> And in his capitol while Jove imperial reign'd,
> Could they to foreign spousals meanly yield
> Whom Crassus led with honour to the field?
> They have to their barbarian lords allied,
> Grown old in hostile arms beneath a tyrant's pride.

Dion Cassius, an experienced soldier and judicious historian, observes on this campaign of Crassus, that the Roman army were either ignorant of what ought to be done, or unable to execute it; adding, that they seemed to be blinded and persecuted by some divinity, who disabled them from using their understandings or their arms. The Divinity whose

power was thus visible to this heathen writer was, doubtless, the one true God, who revenged thereby the sacrilegious plunder and profanation of his holy temple; an act which Crassus had committed in his march towards Parthia.

When the battle of Carrhæ was fought, Orodes was in Armenia, celebrating the nuptials of Pacorus, his son, with a daughter of the king of Armenia. He was overjoyed at receiving the head of his foe Crassus, and at hearing of the overthrow of the Roman forces. But his good fortune led him into crime. Under the influence of envy, he believed himself eclipsed by the lustre of the *surena*, and ungratefully put him to death soon after, placing Pacorus, his favourite son, at the head of the army, in his stead. So true it is, that in every age and nation

> With fame in just proportion envy grows:
> The man that makes a character makes foes.—YOUNG.

Orodes was punished for his crime by a succession of adverse events. He invaded Syria unsuccessfully, which was saved by the bravery of Cicero and Cassius: and Ventidius, the lieutenant of Antony, in B. C. 38, defeated the Parthian army, slew Pacorus, the king's son, and thereby fully revenged the death of Crassus and the Roman army, who fell fifteen years before, and on the same day of the year.

In proportion as Orodes had been elated at the overthrow of Crassus, so was he cast down at the defeat and death of his son Pacorus. He could rejoice at the death of an enemy, and mock at the blood-stained corse; but when the arrow of death smote one dear unto him, he felt the deadly pang of separation. For some time, reason held but a doubtful sway over his actions; but at length the gloom wore away, and he associated Phrates, his eldest son, with him in the kingdom.

Phrates was a monster of iniquity. He no sooner saw himself vested with sovereign authority, than he caused all his brothers by the daughter of Antiochus Eusebes, king of Syria, to be put to death. Orodes resenting this, Phraates attempted his life also, by poison; and this failing, he caused him to be stifled in his bed. B. C. 36.

PHRAATES IV., OR KHOSROU II.

The crimes which Phraates committed before his sole sovereignty formed but part of a fearful tragedy. Having ascended the throne, he despatched all his brothers, thirty in

number. He exercised the same cruelty, also, over the nobility, and even slew his own son, lest the discontented Parthians should place him on the throne. His conduct was so oppressive, and the lives of his subjects rendered so precarious, that many of the nobles quitted the kingdom, and put themselves under the protection of Antony, in Syria.

Among these Parthian refugees, was one Monœsis, a man of great distinction, who, having gained the confidence of Antony, prevailed upon him to engage in a war with Phraates. The Roman general invaded Media, with design to reduce that country first, and from thence invade Parthia. But he was unsuccessful. After penetrating 300 miles into the country, he was compelled to retreat before the forces of Phraates, who cut off great numbers in their flight, and at length defeated them in a pitched battle on the borders of Armenia, with a loss little inferior to that of Crassus. B. C. 35.

After this victory, Phraates reduced all Media and Armenia, restoring Artaxias, the son of Artabazus, to the throne of the latter kingdom, who had been driven from it by Antony. But the triumphs of Phraates were momentary. Elated with success, he oppressed his subjects more cruelly than heretofore, whence the Parthian nobility conspired against him, and placed Tiridates, one of their own body, on the throne.

These occurrences took place in the year, B. C. 31; but the next year Phraates returned into Parthia with a large army, defeated his rival, and recovered his crown. Tiridates retired into Syria, where Augustus found him after the death of Antony, and was solicited by him to lend his assistance against Phraates. At the same time, ambassadors arrived from Phraates to solicit the assistance of Augustus against his rival. Augustus received them both in a friendly manner, without intending to assist either. His policy was purely Roman. He sought rather to incense them against each other with fair promises, and thereby weaken the power and strength of that formidable empire. With this view, he gave Tiridates leave to continue in Syria till he should be able to contend with his rival; accepting from him a son of Phraates, who had fallen into his hands.

Having collected a number of forces, Tiridates returned into Parthia, and once more chased Phraates from his throne. Phraates had recourse to the Scythians, who reinstated him in his kingdom, and supported him in it with a great army. Tiridates, with his coadjutors, now fled to Rome, to implore the assistance of Augustus. He offered to hold the kingdom

as a vassal of Rome. It is probable that Tiridates would have succeeded in his designs; but he was prevented by Phraates. Hearing that Tiridates had fled to Rome, he despatched ambassadors there also, and by agreeing to restore the Roman captives and standards that had been taken from Crassus and Antony, he averted the threatened blow. He gave also four of his sons to Augustus, as hostages for the performance of the conditions required, through dread of his subjects deserting him in a fresh Roman war, rather than through terror of the name of Augustus, as Justin reports, and Horace signs, in a fulsome panegyric of that ruler.

"Who shall the faithless Parthian dread,
The freezing armies of the north?
Or the fierce youth, to battle bred,
Whom horrid Germany brings forth?
Who shall regard the war of cruel Spain,
If Cesar live secure—if Cesar reign?

"Safe in his vineyard toils the hind,
Weds to the widow'd elm his vine,
Till the sun sets his hill behind,
Then hastens joyful to his wine,
And in his gayer hour of earth implores
Thy godhead to protect and bless his stores.

"To thee he chaunts the sacred song,
To thee the rich libation pours;
Thee, placed his household gods among,
With solemn daily prayer adores;
So Castor and great Hercules of old
Were with her gods by grateful Greece enroll'd."

The Parthians, in their base compliances to majesty, never exceeded this Roman adulation.

Freed from the danger of a Roman invasion, Phraates deemed himself secure. But vengeance pursued and overtook him in his own family—that family which he had desolated. His illegitimate son, Phraatices, was placed on the throne by his ambitious mother, Thermusa, after having administered poison to the guilty monarch. A. D. 4.

Dr. Hales observes that Phraates, whom he designates as a monster of cruelty, was contemporary with Herod the Great, whom he resembled in this trait of his character. He had given an asylum at Seleucia to the venerable and unfortunate Hyrcanus, king of Judea, in his exile. When Herod sent an embassy to Phraates, to permit Hyrcanus to return to Jerusalem, the Parthian king tried to dissuade him from

going home; but in vain: he returned, and was sacrificed some time after to the wicked policy of the Idumean.

The author of the Sebtarikh, notices that the Prince of Peace, Jesus Christ, was born during the reign of Phraates, which period was thus eminently signalized by such cruel tyrants: an event which the oppressed world might have hailed in the language of the angels who stooped from heaven to announce it to the shepherds in the fields of Bethlehem: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men," Luke ii. 14.

PHRAATICES.

Phraatices had scarcely taken his seat upon the throne of Parthia, when the Parthians drove him from it into banishment, and placed Orodes II. thereon in his stead.

ORODES II.

Orodes was generally hated for his cruel and savage temper, and, after reigning during the space of eleven years, he was destroyed at a banquet. A. D. 15.

On the death of Orodes, the Parthians sent ambassadors to Rome, entreating Augustus to send one of the sons of Phraates to rule over them. The emperor readily despatched Vonones, or Narses.

VONONES, OR NARSES.

This prince was received with every demonstration of joy; but as he affected the Roman manners and dress, the Parthians soon grew weary of him, and invited Artabanus, king of Media, who was likewise of the house of Arsaces, to take possession of the crown, with which invitation he readily complied. A. D. 18.

ARTABANUS, OR ARDEVAN II.

In coming to take possession of his new crown, Artabanus was met on the frontiers by Venones, and defeated; but he raised a second army, and obtained a complete victory over his rival, who retired successively to Armenia, Syria, and Cilicia, in which latter country he was finally killed by a Roman soldier.

Artabanus followed the line of policy which so many of

the Parthian kings had recently adopted to their own destruction—that of cruelty. His removal was therefore soon resolved upon. Some of the Parthian nobility sent privately to Rome for Phraates, one of the hostages who had been delivered to Augustus. The deputies represented, that the Parthians were ripe for insurrection, and that a descendant of Arsaces, supported by Rome, and seen on the banks of the Euphrates, would occasion an immediate revolt. Tiberius, who had succeeded Augustus, was glad of an opportunity of raising new disturbances in Parthia, and he immediately despatched Phraates to recover his father's kingdom; but that prince, on his arrival in Syria, was cut off by death.

Tiberius did not abandon the enterprise. He set up Tiridates, another prince of the royal family, and wrote to Mithridates Iberus, requesting him to invade Armenia with his brother Pharasmanes, king of Iberia, and by that means to draw Artabanus out of his own kingdom. This plan was successful. Artabanus hastened into Armenia to defend that part of his dominions, but was twice defeated, and he was at length obliged to take refuge among the Carmanians and Hyrcanians.

Upon the retreat of Artabanus, Vitellius, governor of Syria, advanced with his legions to the banks of the Euphrates; and, having crossed the river on a bridge of boats, caused Tiridates to be proclaimed king of Parthia.

TIRIDATES.

The new monarch was welcomed by the Parthian nobility, and Vitellius repassed the Euphrates with his legions, and retired into Syria. He was, however, no sooner gone, than Phraates and Hiero, two Parthian nobles, out of envy to Tiridates' minister, Abdageses, recalled Artabanus, and with the aid of the Scythians, Dahæ, and Sacæ, re-established him on the throne. Tiridates first retired into Mesopotamia, with the intention of raising forces sufficient to contest the crown; but he was abandoned by those he led thither, and was compelled to retire into Syria.

SECOND NOTICE OF ARTABANUS, OR ARDEVAN II.

Had Artabanus been wise, it is probable that he might now have retained the throne of Parthia in peace. Renewing his cruelties, however, his subjects once more conspired

against him, and compelled him to take refuge in the dominions of Izates, king of the Adiabenians. Izates entertained him hospitably, and by his intercession reinstated him on the throne of Parthia, after he had, by solemn oath, promised to forgive those who had taken up arms against him. This second lesson was effectual to his reformation. From this time he governed his subjects with equity and moderation, and, after a reign of thirty years, he died, leaving behind him seven sons. By his will, Artabanus appointed Bardanes, his second son to succeed him. A. D. 48.

BARDANES.

Bardanes was an ungrateful monster. Forgetful of the obligations his family owed to Izates, he made war upon that prince, because he refused to assist him in a war with the Romans. This ingratitude was resented by the Parthian nobility. Incensed thereby, they rose in arms against him and slew him, and raised Gotarzes to the throne, in opposition to Meherdates, grandson of Phraates, whose cause was advocated by a party among the Parthian nobility. A. D. 47.

GOTARZES.

Gotarzes commenced his reign in cruelty. He grievously oppressed those who adhered to Meherdates, which caused them to look to Rome for succour. A deputation was sent privately to the emperor Claudius, soliciting him to send Meherdates to reign over them. Claudius readily complied with their request, and having exhorted Meherdates to govern with equity and moderation, he dismissed him, and wrote to Caius Cassius, governor of Syria, enjoining him to attend the young prince to the banks of the Euphrates.

Agreeable to his instructions, Cassius drew together his legions, and marched with him to Zeugma, where the river was then fordable. At this place he encamped, and being joined by Abgarus, king of Edessa, and many Parthian chiefs, he exhorted Meherdates to execute his design without delay, lest the Parthians should alter their conduct towards him, and join his competitor.

This was sound advice; but it was frustrated by the treachery of Abgarus, who, although he had espoused the interest of Meherdates openly, was secretly attached to Gotarzes. Abgarus detained Meherdates many days, and then prevailed

upon him to pass through Armenia, (which, as winter was already commenced, was for the most part covered with snow,) instead of entering Mesopotamia, though he was on the very borders of that country.

As Meherdates came down into the champaign country, wearied with the deep snow, he was met by Carrhanes, a leading man among the Parthians, at the head of some reinforcements. Thence he crossed the Tigris, passed through the country of the Adiabenians, and made himself master of the Nineveh and the strong castle of Arbela. But here his successes ended. Having offered sacrifices on Mount Sambulos, to the gods of the place, especially to Hercules, Gotarzes came and encamped in the plain, with the river Carmæ between him and Meherdates. While encamped before each other, Abgarus, king of the Edessans, went over to Gotarzes, and his example was followed by many others; so that when the armies joined issue, Meherdates was easily overthrown. He himself was taken prisoner, and Gotarzes directed his ears to be cut off, in contempt of the Romans.

Gotarzes did not long survive his victory. He died soon after, and was succeeded by Vonones, at that time governor of Media.

VONONES II.

The reign of Vonones was brief and inglorious, whence no records are left of it by ancient historians. He was succeeded in his kingdom, A. D. 50, by Vologeses, son of Gotarzar, according to Josephus; and of Vonones, according to Tacitus.

VOLOGESES

In the beginning of his reign, Vologeses invaded Armenia, and made himself master of Artaxata and Tigranocerta, the two chief cities of that kingdom. Rhadamistus, an Iberian usurper, then upon the throne of Armenia, fled before him, and upon his retreat Vologeses declared his brother, Tiridates, king of that country. This led to a war with the Romans. Domitius Corbulo, charged by Nero with the defence of Armenia, expelled Tiridates, and placed Tigranes, a Cappadocian, on the throne in his stead. Incensed at this, Vologeses collected a great army, for the purpose of making a descent on the Roman provinces. In this, however, he was

thwarted, chiefly by the activity of Corbulo, and he was compelled to humble himself to Nero, upon which the ancient alliance of the two empires was renewed.

From this time, no mention is made of Vologeses till about A. D. 68, when he made an offer of assisting Vespasian in the Jewish war with an army of 40,000 cavalry. Vespasian declined the offer, but renewed the ancient treaties with the Parthians, dismissed the ambassadors, loaded with presents, and maintained, during the reign of Vologeses, a good understanding with the Parthians.

Being disengaged from all foreign and domestic wars, Vologeses commenced building a city, which he called after his own name, Vologesocerta, or "the city of Vologeses;" but death prevented him from completing the work. He died A. D. 69, and was succeeded by his son Artabanus.

ARTABANUS III.

In opposition to Vespasian, this new monarch of Parthia espoused the cause of the counterfeit Nero; but the emperor did not deem it prudent to resent the affront, the kingdom of Parthia being in a flourishing condition, and the Roman provinces weakened by a recent irruption of the Alani, a barbarous people of Scythia, inhabiting the countries adjacent to the river Tanats.

Artabanus formed a design of invading Armenia; but he died before he could put it into execution. A. D. 77.

PACORUS II.

Pacorus II., the son of Artabanus, succeeded to the throne, and during a long reign, preserved a strict friendship with the Romans; whence he was enabled to improve the internal condition of the Parthian empire. He died A. D. 107, and was succeeded by Chosroes.

CHOSROES, OR KHOSRU.

On ascending the throne, Chosroes invaded Armenia, expelled Exadares, who had been appointed king of that country by the emperor Trajan, and placed his eldest son, Parthamasiris, on the throne in his stead. As this was an open violation of the treaties subsisting between the two empires, a war was commenced by Trajan, in which Chosroes lost the richest provinces of the Parthian empire; but Trajan dying

immediately after his conquests, his successor, Adrian, voluntarily relinquished all the provinces beyond the Euphrates, withdrew the Roman garrisons from Mesopotamia, and concluded a peace, which Chosroes faithfully observed during the remainder of his reign. He died A. D. 166, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Vologeses.

VOLOGESES II.

In the reign of Vologeses II., the Alani invaded Media, then subject to the Parthians, and committed great devastations; but they were prevailed upon, with rich presents, sent them by Vologeses, to return home.

Vologeses, in his turn, invaded Armenia and Syria, in the reign of Antoninus Pius; but the Romans made a severe retaliation under Statius Priscus in Armenia, and Cassius, in connexion with Martius Verus, in the Parthian territories; so that he was finally compelled to acknowledge the sovereignty of Rome, on condition of not being molested in the eastern provinces beyond the Euphrates, which was the common boundary of the two empires.

These are the only two leading events recorded of the reign of Vologeses II. Soon after peace was concluded, he was carried off by death. A. D. 194.

VOLOGESES III.

This prince was the nephew of the preceding monarch. He espoused the cause of Niger, the rival of the emperor Severus, which involved him in a war with Rome. Severus overran the Parthian dominions, and captured Ctesiphon; but he had no sooner recrossed the Euphrates, than Vologeses recovered all the provinces, except Mesopotamia, which Severus had reduced.

Soon after, Vologeses was engaged in a war, destructive to his subjects, with his brother Artabanus, who, encouraged by some of the nobility, attempted to rob him of his crown. Vologeses gained several victories over his brother and rebellious subjects; but he died before he could bring this civil war to a conclusion. A. D. 216.

ARTABANUS IV.

This prince, who had a numerous army at his command, seized the throne on his brother's death, in utter disregard of

the better claim which Tiridetes, his elder brother, had to the honour.

After his accession, Artabanus was drawn into a war with the Romans by the treachery of Caracalla, who sent an embassy desiring his daughter in marriage. Pleased with the alliance, Artabanus readily agreed, and went to meet him with the chief of the nobility and his best troops, all unarmed. But Caracalla perfidiously fell upon the peaceable multitude, and massacred and took many of them prisoners. Artabanus escaped, and in revenge raised a mighty army, and carried war and devastation into Syria. He was met by Macrinus, A. D. 217, after the assassination of Caracalla, with a mighty army also, and the two armies contended with each other for two days with great fury, without any decisive advantage on either side. At length, when Artabanus was going to renew the battle on the third day, declaring he would continue it till the Parthians or Romans were utterly destroyed, Macrinus sent a herald to inform him that Caracalla, the object of his indignation, was dead, and to propose peace. The Parthian king readily agreed to this proposal, on the restoration of the prisoners so treacherously taken, and repayment of his expenses in the war.

But the term of the Parthian empire was drawing to a close. The flower of the Parthian army being destroyed in this struggle with the Romans, Artaxeres, a gallant Persian, encouraged his countrymen to seize this opportunity of shaking off the Parthian yoke. Upon the news of this revolt, Artabanus marched with speed to suppress it. A battle ensued, which is said to have continued for three successive days, when the Parthians were defeated, and Artabanus taken and put to death.

By the issue of this battle, the Parthian empire was subverted: the Parthians became vassals to a nation which had before ruled over them, but which had been subject to them during the space of 454 years; namely, from B. C. 229, to A. D. 225. See the History of the Persians.

"Where is the fame
Which the vain-glorious mighty of the earth
Seek to eternize? Oh! the faintest sound
From time's light foot-fall, the minutest wave
That swells the flood of ages, whelms in nothing
The unsubstantial bubble. Ay, to-day
Stern is the tyrant's mandate, red the gaze
That flashes desolation, strong the arm

That scatters multitudes. To-morrow comes!
That mandate is a thunder peal that died
In ages past; that gaze, a transient flash
On which the midnight closed; and on that arm
The worm has made his meal."

Mighty as the Parthian empire was, time has long borne it away upon the bosom of its everflowing stream. The pride and the strength of its monarchs have long mingled with the dust of the earth. Tyrants as they were, the sterner tyrant death has long laid them prostrate by his irresistible stroke. Of what avail, then, were their deadly struggles for power and empire? Of what value the glittering crown which they oft sought to obtain or defend in the field of battle? Could they arise from the sleep of death to answer these questions, with the curled lip of scorn they would, doubtless, mock at human grandeur, and exclaim, "All is vanity and vexation of spirit."

This brief history of the Parthians presents a fearful picture of human action to the gaze of the Christian reader. He therein sees to what an awful degree his species have departed from his Maker. Made holy, and upright, and lovely as are the angels of heaven, they fell from that lofty height, and became base, and even demoniac. One constant struggle for power and dominion over his species has been the leading feature of mankind in all ages. To obtain this, they have been well pleased to view the carnage of the battle field: they have exulted over the slaughter of tens of thousands. Even now the demon of war rages in the earth! Even now, the sword is ready to leap from the scabbard to renew the carnage of the battle field! Even now, the nature of man is the same as in the days of old! But not all mankind are ready to go out to battle. There are those who, washed in the blood of the Redeemer, and sanctified by the grace of God's Holy Spirit, know what is due to man as a brother.

Eternal Spirit! universal God!
Power inaccessible to human thought,
Save by degrees and steps which thou hast deigned
To furnish—
Accomplish thou their number; and conclude
Time's weary course! Or if, by thy decree,
The consummation that will come by stealth
Be yet far distant, let thy word prevail,
Oh! let thy word prevail, to take away
The sting of human nature. Spread the law,
As it is written in thy holy book,
Throughout all lands: let every nation hear

The high behest, and every heart obey;
Both for the love of purity, and hope
Which it affords, to such as do thy will
And persevere in good, that they shall rise,
To have a nearer view of thee, in heaven.
Father of good! this prayer in bounty grant,
In mercy grant it to thy wretched sons.
Then, nor till then, shall persecution cease
And cruel wars expire. The way is marked,
The guide appointed, and the ransom paid.

WORDSWORTH.

THE END.

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